

THE GREEK WORLD AND MEDICAL TRADITION
HEALERS AND HEALING ON THE EVE OF THE GREEK REVIVAL
(1700-1821)

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THESIS ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the medical culture of the Greek world between 1700 and the period leading to the eve of the Greek rising of 1821. It is a study of medical pluralism as it surveys the variety of healers and forms of healing. It identifies healing customs, and assesses traditional healing practices alongside academic medicine and religious healing traditions and ideas. It explores and contrasts the influences of different modes of civic administration and Orthodox religion on the local therapeutic landscape and evaluates the impact of Western Europe on the practice and evolution of medicine in Greek society. Central to the themes of this investigation are the intellectual and practical interrelationships between the three sources of healing: academic medical ideas, religious and traditional healing.

The thesis is based on analysis of archival material from the Academy of Athens, the Gennadius Library, the National Library of Greece, the Centre for Neohellenic Research, the Historical and Palaeographic Archive of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, the Ethnological Society of Greece, the Historical archives of Corfu, the Corfu Reading Society, the British Library, and the Wellcome Library.

Broadly speaking, existing studies of the history of Greek medicine for the early modern and Enlightenment periods are relatively rare and treat the subject in contrasting ways. Most authors engage with the topic from the focus of a history of academic medicine. On other occasions, the subject forms a small part of a history of the exact sciences, or of religion or its material is used in modern anthropological studies. In the context of this investigation, the views of ordinary people are considered alongside the learned community to offer a wide-ranging view of medical ideas and practices in Greek society for the period leading to the formation of the modern Greek state.

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ABBREVIATIONS

HAC	Ἱστορικό Ἀρχεῖο Κέρκυρας - (Historical Archive of Corfu)
HESA	Ἱστορική καί Ἐθνολογική Ἑταιρεία τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Historical and Ethnological Society of Athens)
CMAAA	Κέντρο Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν (Centre of the Medieval Archive of the Academy of Athens)
KLA	Κοργιαλένιος Βιβλιοθήκη Ἀργοστολίου (Korgialenios Library of Argostoli)
MSCS	Μονή Αγ. Αἰκατερίνης Σινά (Monastery of St Catherine Sina)
MIMA	Μονή Ἰβήρων Ἁγίων Ὁρος (Monastery of Iviron Mount Athos)
MTS	Μονή Μεταμορφώσεως Σκόπελος (Monastery of the Transfiguration Skopelos)
MO	Μονή Ὀλυμπιώτισσας (Mostery of Olympiotissa)
MAE	Μονή Ταξιαρχῶν Αἰγίου (Monastery of the Archangels Egion)
WLPA	Warburg Library Photographic Archive
WL	Welcome Library

GLOSSARY

<i>Avâriz</i>	property tax
<i>çiflik</i>	agricultural plot of land / private estate / property that may include a village or town
<i>cizye</i>	capitation tax
<i>dragoman</i>	interpreter
<i>haraç</i>	tax on the use of land
<i>hospodar</i>	governor / prince
<i>kocabaşı</i>	notable / representative of the raya population
<i>millet</i>	nation / ethnic group based on religious affiliation
<i>Porte</i>	the Sublime / the Imperial government
<i>raya</i>	non-Muslim subject (fig.) Christians

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KEY EVENTS AND DATES

- 1453 Fall of Constantinople
- 1460 Mohammed II conquers the Morea - Athens annexed to the Ottoman Empire
- 1571 Naval battle of Lepanto - The forces of the Holy League gain a signal victory over the Ottoman fleet
- 1669 Ottomans capture Crete from Venice
- 1688 Venice repossesses the Morea
- 1699 Peace treaty of Carlowitz - The Morea is ceded to Venice
- 1711 Ottoman army defeats Peter the Great at Stanileşti
- 1715 Re-conquest of the Morea by the Ottoman army
- 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz between the Ottoman Empire and Austria and Venice - Morea ceded to the Ottoman Empire
- 1719 Great fire and earthquake at Constantinople
- 1768 -1774 Russia and the Ottoman Empire at war
- 1770 Russian invasion of the Morea and support for Greek insurrection
- 1774 Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji - Russian withdrawal from the Morea
- 1797 Treaty of Campo Formio – Corfu and the other Ionian Islands ceded to Napoleon Bonaparte breaking 411 years' possession by the Serenissima
- 1800 Turkey and Russia create the Septinsular Republic
- 1806 -1812 Russia and Turkey at war
- 1807 Treaty of Tilsit - Septinsular Republic under the protection of France
- 1815 Treaty of Paris - Ionian Islands become a British Protectorate
- 1821 Greek Revolution

Introduction

This is a study of medical pluralism as it reaches beyond academic therapeutics to survey the variety of healers and healing systems in practice throughout Greek society. It examines Greek medicine from 'below', and from the viewpoint of a social history of medicine it offers new insights into Greek culture on the eve of its revival: the experience of illness, the language of disease, an exploration of the Greek Orthodox mind-set regarding the supernatural, and the links connecting contemporary Greek therapeutics with the wider European medical tradition.

To date, a significant volume of academic literature has been devoted to the study of medicine in Greek society in early and late antiquity and in the millennium leading to the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453.¹ In contrast, Greek historiography is relatively short of studies that examine Greek medical culture in the period leading to the establishment of the modern Greek state (1700-1821). During this period, depending on time and place, the Greek Orthodox community were subjects of the two imperial powers of Venice and the Ottoman Porte. Conspicuously, in the compilation of 'the most important witness accounts' of the period 1669-1812 by the distinguished Greek historian A. Vakalopoulos, the subject of health does not figure among topics of significance to the Greek world.² On the whole, the primary focus of Greek historiography for the period has been on wider socio-political and economic issues, matters relating to the resurgence and links of Greek society with the ancient past, and its place in the wider European intellectual movement.³

¹ Typically, Vivian Nutton, *Ancient medicine* (London: Routledge, 2004); Ludwig Edelstein, 'The distinctive Hellenism of Greek medicine' *Bulletin of the history of medicine*, 40 (1966), 197-225; Philip J. van der Eijk, *Medicine and Philosophy in classical antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005); Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine philanthropy and social welfare* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1968); 'Symposium on Byzantine Medicine' *Dumbarton Oak Papers*, 38 (1984); Timothy Miller, *The birth of the hospital in the Byzantine empire* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1997); A. Eftichidis, *Εισαγωγή εις τήν Ἑλληνικὴν θεραπευτικὴν* (Introduction to Greek therapeutics) (Athens: n. pub., 1985).

² Apostolos Vakalopoulos, *Πηγές τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ* (Sources of the history of modern Hellenism) (Thessaloniki: Heteria Makedonikon Spoudon, 1997), p. 2.

³ A selection of the work related to general aspects of Greek history includes: Apostolos Vakalopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, Τουρκοκρατία 1669-1812* (History of modern Hellenism, Ottoman rule 1669-1812) (Thessaloniki: Herodotos, 1973); Konstantinos Sathas, *Τό ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἀρχοντολόγιον καί οἱ ποπολάρῳι* (The story of Zante's aristocrats and the lower classes) (Athens: Gyftakis & Kamarinopoulos, 1962); Tryphon E. Evagelidis, *Ἡ Παιδεία ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας* (Education under Turkish Rule), 3 vols (Athens: Chalkiopolou, 1936);

Naturally, in the four centuries after the fall of Byzantium, health and illness continued to concern Greek society. It impacted on people's health, communal relationships, public health policies, their ideas on life, religious practices, association with the ruling powers, and the links of the community with other ethnic groups in the Balkan region, the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Europe.

The thesis is an exploration of Greek medical culture in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Geographically, it encompasses the area of the Peloponnese, continental Greece as far as the line from Thessaloniki to the coast opposite Corfu, and most of the islands in the Ionian and Aegean seas including Crete (see Illustration 1). Here, the Greek community, defined as Orthodox Christians speaking Greek as their mother-tongue, was in a clear majority but sharing the land with Turkish, Albanian, Jewish and other peoples.⁴ The inclusion of other substantial Greek communities to be found outside this region, in large settlements in Constantinople, the coasts of the Black sea and Asia Minor, and colonies in the Balkans, Russia, Egypt, and elsewhere would have beset the project with particular difficulties.

The study utilises underused archival sources linked to people's health from a variety of sectors: state, academic, religious, and popular.⁵ From the analysis and synthesis of this material it sets out to offer new perspectives on Greek society and south-eastern European culture:

- On the diverse practical and intellectual forces that defined and linked medical practice within Greek society.
- On the influence and multifaceted relationship of Orthodox religion and the Greek community.
- On the impact and interactions of Western-based academic medicine, religious healing, and community-based therapeutics among the Greek community.

S. Theotokis, 'Η Ἑκπαίδευσις ἐν Ἑπτανήσῳ 1453-1864' (Education in the Heptanissos 1453-1864), *Kerkyraika Chronika*, 5 (1956), 1-184; E. Lountzis, *Περὶ τῆς Πολιτικῆς Καταστάσεως τῆς Ἑπτανήσου ἐπὶ Ἑνετῶν* (The political situation of Heptanissos under Venice) (Athens: Nikolaidou PhiladelphEOS, 1856).

⁴ Douglas Dakin, *The Unification of Greece 1770-1923* (London: Benn, 1972), p. 1.

⁵ Here I use the term 'popular' as 'of cultural activities or products emerging from the general public'.

- Fresh insights concerning the impact of Ottoman and Venetian imperial rule and Western Europe on the evolution of Greek society.

This thesis is concerned with the *long durée* of Greek medical culture under Ottoman and Venetian rule. Although some change is noted particularly in the years leading up to 1821 which were seminal ones for the Greek world, it prefigures bigger changes that will affect the wider community after the establishment of the independent state.

Literature Review

In comparison to the wider academic interest in the history of medicine, Greek scholarly engagement with the genre has been comparatively narrow. V. Rozos and I. Papavasiliou, authors of a monograph intended for the teaching of the subject to medical students in Greece acknowledge as such in the introduction to their work, remarking 'the lack of such a Handbook to the History of Medicine was widely felt in Greek bibliography'.⁶ For Gerasimos Pentogalos, the only other modern Greek author of a general history of medicine, study of the subject helps 'cultivate intellectual and emotional development and a scientific ethical standard' for medical students.⁷ Such a connection with the curriculum of medical study at university has made the subject of 'history of medicine' primarily the concern of the academic Greek medical community and practitioner-historians as the main author group. The question concerning the merits of medical practitioners or other scholars as historians of medicine has occupied Anglo-Saxon academia but has no parallel discussion among the relatively small group of Greek historians engaged in the subject.⁸

In relation to the period 1700-1821 with which this thesis is primarily concerned, the group of practitioner-historians has largely concentrated on historical aspects of academic medicine focusing on its evolution and the

⁶ V. Rozos and I. Papavasiliou, *Εγχειρίδιο Ιστορίας της Ιατρικής* (Handbook of the History of Medicine), 2 vols (Athens: n. pub., 1989), ii, p. 9.

⁷ Gerasimos Pentogalos, *Εισαγωγή στην Ιστορία της Ιατρικής* (Introduction to the History of Medicine) (Thessaloniki: Paratiritis, 1983), pp. 19-20.

⁸ For example, J. Burnham, 'A brief history of medical practitioners and professional historians as writers of medical history', *Health and History: the bulletin of the Australian Society for the History of Medicine*, 1. 4 (1999), 250-273; Gert Brieger, 'The Historiography of Medicine' in *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, ed. by W. W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1997), i, 24-44.

contribution of Greek physicians to the Greek and wider community of South-eastern Europe.⁹ Others, taking a narrower perspective, have concentrated on the sub-group of academic medicine with origins in the Ionian Islands or Chios, territories with Italian socio-political connections, characterised by long medical traditions and links with Italian medical schools, especially from the latter half of the seventeenth century. Overarching the body of work associated with the Ionian Islands and Chios and authored by practitioner-historians, is a strong sense of commemoration of the contribution of physicians with origins in these islands from a 'sense of duty', 'to keep alive the remembrance of physicians with local (Kefalonian) origins' or in order 'to enhance our appreciation of Chiote medicine'.¹⁰

An alternative approach is followed in works offering straightforward accounts of academic medicine in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Karaberopoulos describes his work as 'focusing on the investigation of printed works of the period (1745-1821) and an examination of the extent to which European medical knowhow was transferred to the Greek world', whilst Kefallonitis sets out to 'portray the events' relating to the civic hospital of Corfu.¹¹ In contrast, the monograph of Laskaratos concerning nineteenth

⁹ For example, published by the Society of the Greek Nephrology, the work aims to 'record the diachronic evolution of knowledge relating to nephrology in the wider Greek world and to present the activity of the Society in Greece and internationally': *Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Νεφρολογίας* (History of Greek Nephrology), ed. by Thanassis Diamandopoulos (Athens: Papazissi, 2000), p. 11; short biographies and accounts of Greek physicians with connections to Italian medical schools are provided in S. Marketos and J. Laskaratos, 'The Links between the Medical School of Bologna and the Hellenic Medical World', *Giornale Di Storia Della Medicina*, Vol. 2 (1990), 113-125 and S. Marketos, J. Laskaratos and A. Diamandopoulos, 'The Links between the Medical School of Padua and the Hellenic Medical World', *Giornale Di Storia Della Medicina*, Vol. 4 (1992), 45-58.

¹⁰ For examples of this genre see especially Gerasimos Pentogalos, *Γιατροί και Ιατρική Κεφαλονιάς στα χρόνια των ξενικών κυριαρχιών 1500-1864* (Kefalonian Physicians and Medicine in the time of foreign rule 1500-1864) (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2004); Mikes Paidoussis, *Η Ιατρική στη Χίο κατά τους Τελευταίους Αιώνες 1600-1900*, (Medicine in Chios in recent centuries 1600-1900) (Chios: Omirio and others, 2001); Spyros Charokopos and F. Charokopos, *Έπτανησιακή Ιατρική* (Heptanissian Medicine) (Athens: Ministry of Social Welfare, 1976); E. Emmanouil, *Η Φαρμακευτική εις τήν Ζάκυνθον καί τήν Έπτάνησον επί Ένετοκρατίας καί Άγγλικής προστασίας* (Pharmaceutics in Zante and the Ionian Islands during the Venetian Rule and British Protectorate), *Treatises of the Academy of Athens*, Vol. 3 A (1936); I.A. Vitsos, *Η Ιατρική εις τήν Έπτάνησον καί ή συμβολή των Έπτανησίων Ιατρών εις τήν πνευματικήν καί κοινωνικήν εξέλιξιν της Έλλάδος* (Medicine in the Ionian Islands and the contribution of Ionian Island physicians in the intellectual and social evolution of Greece) (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Athens, 1979).

¹¹ Dimitris Karaberopoulos, *Η Ιατρική Ευρωπαϊκή Γνώση στον Ελληνικό Χώρο 1745-1821* (European Medical Knowledge in the Greek World 1745-1821) (Athens: Stamoulis, 2003);

century 'disease prevention and social care' in the Ionian Islands involves far greater engagement with critique of the subject.¹² The work is only of limited relevance to this study, as it relates primarily to the period of English rule in the Ionian Islands (1815-1864), a period outside the scope of the thesis. Finally, a significant number of relatively short papers primarily from physician-authors have appeared in the pages of *Δέλτος* (Deltos), the principal academic journal published in the Greek language and connected with the history of Greek medicine.¹³

Academic historians engage more fruitfully in monographs and papers concerned with the wider history of science in the period of this thesis. Of special note are the studies of Y. Karas, V. Makrides, and the group exploring aspects of the Greek Enlightenment. In Karas' seminal investigation of Greek science for the four centuries after the fall of Byzantium, the reader is invited to 'witness the evolution of the means for the prevention and therapy of illness and the passage from empirical to scientific medicine' in the exhaustive catalogue of medical manuscripts and printed works of the period from the 15th to the 19th century.¹⁴ Each of the cited works is accompanied with short highlights of its content to assist the researcher with further investigation. A relatively brief critique of some of this data is provided in Karas' other work on Greek science where, in the chapter on 'Life sciences', the author provides a synthesis of the material.¹⁵

Georgios Kefallonitis, *Ιστορία του Αστικού Νοσοκομείου Κερκύρας* (History of the civic hospital of Corfu) (Kerkyra: Society of Heptanissian Studies, 1940);

¹² Ioannis Laskaratos, *Πρόληψη της αρρώστιας και κοινωνική προστασία στα Επτάνησα επί Αγγλοκρατίας 1815-1864* (Prevention of disease and social care in the Eptanissa during English rule, 1815-1864) (Athens: n. pub., 1985).

¹³ Typically, Dimitrios N. Schizas "Η Έλονοσία στην Ελλάδα στα χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας όσοπως την είδαν οι ξένοι ταξιδιώτες" (Malaria in Greece during Ottoman rule as observed by foreign travellers), *Deltos*, 30 (2005), 19-25; Manolis E. Detorakis, 'Πρακτικοί γιατροί και αγύρτες στην Τουρκοκρατούμενη Κρήτη' (Empiric doctors and quacks in Crete under Ottoman rule), *Deltos*, 24 (2002), 14-21.

¹⁴ Yiannis Karas, *Οι επιστήμες στην Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), 3 vols (Athens: Estia, 1994), iii, Life sciences, p.11.

¹⁵ Yiannis Karas, *Οι θετικές επιστήμες στον Έλληνικό χώρο - 15^{ος}-19^{ος} αιώνας* (The exact sciences in the Greek world - 15th-19th century) (Athens: Dedalos, n.d.), pp. 262-290. The chapter on 'Medicine' in Karas' other work *Ιστορία και Φιλοσοφία των Επιστημών στον Έλληνικό χώρο 17^{ος} - 19^{ος} αι.* (History and Philosophy of Sciences in the Greek world 17th-19th century), ed. by Y. Karas (Athens: Metechmio, 2003), is primarily a repetition of D. Karaberopoulos' work cited above.

Although not directly engaged with medicine, Makrides' investigations are of particular note in that they point to the intellectual debates between advocates of Orthodox Church doctrine and European science.¹⁶ The central place of the Orthodox Church in the intellectual affairs of the Greek community is examined further by Wolff, Demaras, and Kitromilidis, this time in the context of the European and Greek Enlightenment. Wolff helps to highlight the complex relationship of Orthodoxy with the Enlightenment and its critical role in the assimilation of European ideas in Greek culture.¹⁷ In a wider context, the studies of Dimaras and Kitromilidis provide a full critique of the debates and adaptation of Enlightenment ideas in the circumstances pertaining to the Greek world especially in the period 1770-1821.¹⁸

Besides the philosophical concerns of the learned community, modern authors have also explored the relationship between Orthodox religion and its congregation in matters of health and illness rooted in the long Byzantine tradition. The cleric-authors Constantelos and Paraskevopoulos engage in two distinct aspects of the relationship between the Orthodox Church and its flock. Constantelos discusses the connections and continuities of ancient Greek and Christian Greek medical traditions, and promotes the idea of a complementary relationship between 'rational' Galenic medicine and Orthodox religious practice.¹⁹ Archimandrite Paraskevopoulos provides a 'constructive and

¹⁶ Vassilios Makrides, 'Science and the Orthodox Church in 18th and early 19th century Greece: Sociological Considerations', *Balkan Studies*, vol 29 No 2 (1988), 265-282; 'Ορθόδοξη Έκκλησία και φορείς τοῦ Διαφωτισμοῦ στὸν Ἑλληνικὸ χώρο: Ἰδιαιτερότητες μιᾶς σχέσης' (Orthodox Church and the conveyors of enlightenment to the Greek setting: Peculiarities of the relationship), *Kleronomia*, vols 29a+b (1997), 163-201; 'Ἡ Ὁρθοδοξία ὡς μηχανισμός ἀμυνας καὶ ἀντιστάθμισης ἐναντι τῶν προόδων τῆς Δύσης κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν' (Orthodoxy as a mechanism of defence and counter-balance in opposition to Western progress during the Ottoman rule), Symposium on 'European Dimensions of Neo-Hellenic thought', (Larissa, Greece, February 1998), 3-30.

¹⁷ Larry Wolff, *The Enlightenment and the Orthodox World* (Athens: Inst. for Neo-Hellenic research, 2001).

¹⁸ Pashalis M. Kitromilidis, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* (Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment) (Athens: MIET, 2000); K.T. Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* (Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment), 8th edn (Athens: Ermis, 2002). For a differently angled analysis of this topic see also George P. Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought, 1620-1830* (Albany: State University of New York UP, 1970), and D. Dialetis, C. Gavroglu, M. Patiniotis, 'The Sciences in the Greek Speaking Regions During The 17th and 18th Centuries' <http://www.iono.noa.gr/hellinonmimon/public_1.htm> [accessed November 2002]; D. Therianos, *Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραΐς* (Adamantios Karais), 3 vols (Trieste: Economion Foundation, 1890)

¹⁹ Demetrios J. Constantelos, 'The Interface of Medicine and Religion in the Greek and the Christian Orthodox Tradition', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 33.1 (Spring 1988), 1-17;

didactic' explanation of Orthodox Church doctrines concerning 'supernatural' beliefs and prophylactic and therapeutic practices.²⁰ His theme of Church-approved healing amulets is taken further by Handaka and Lelakis, this time from a secular academic viewpoint.²¹

Underpinning religious and secular beliefs are studies of the supernatural among the Greek Orthodox community in Byzantine times. The contribution of Greenfield and the diverse papers of the colloquium at Dumbarton Oaks (1993) explore the place of 'magic' in Byzantine society, 'a factor of significance to Byzantines themselves'.²² Magical beliefs were connected with healing practice and continued well into the following centuries. Hartnap's recent critical study of the Chiote scholar and Vatican adviser Leo Allatios (1586-1669) reveals the character and continuity of Greek customs and traditions beyond the Byzantine period, into early modern Orthodox culture.²³ Studies on the nature and significance of traditions and beliefs in modern Greek society are presented in the work of Stewart and Hertzfeld.²⁴ From the angle of social anthropology, Stewart's and Herzfeld's studies focus on the ideological factors and connections between religion, local beliefs, and practices and the place and role of women in modern Greek society.

This brings us to the body of work concerned with traditional aspects of healing. Concerning the use of the term 'traditional', I have taken note of the debate relating to 'popular medicine' and in particular the challenges to

also J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), and Stanley Harakas, "Rational Medicine" in the Orthodox Tradition' *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 33.1 (Spring 1988), 19-43.

²⁰ Germanos G. Paraskevopoulos, *Τά Φυλαχτά τῆς Ἡλίας ὑπὸ τὸ φῶς τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Πίστεως* (The Phylacteries of Iliia in the light of the Christian faith) (Athens: Iera Mitropolis Ilias, 1981).

²¹ Sofia Handaka, *Tokens of Worship* (Athens: Benaki & Aeon, 2006); Georgos Lekakis, *Τάματα και αναθήματα* (Votive offerings) (Athens: Georgiadis, 2001).

²² Richard P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988); *Byzantine Magic*, ed. by Henry Maguire (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), p.3. Also the chapter on 'The Devil in Byzantium' in J. B. Russell, *Lucifer, the Devil in the Middle Ages* (London: Ithaca, 1984).

²³ Karen Hartnap, *'On the Beliefs of the Greeks' Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 238-240; Leo Allatios, a Greek scholar educated in Italy, converted to Catholicism living and working mostly in Rome.

²⁴ Charles Stewart, *Demons and the Devil – Moral Imagination in modern Greek Culture* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991); Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More – Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (New York: Pella, 1986); Michael Herzfeld, 'Within and Without: The Category of "Female" in the Ethnography of Modern Greece' in *Gender & Power in Rural Greece*, ed. by Jill Dubisch (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), 215- 233.

notions of its existence in a European setting. The subject is discussed at length by D. Gentilcore.²⁵ Noting the arguments in Gentilcore's paper and the evidence presented in this thesis, I believe that, whilst it is difficult to draw clear distinctions between academic, religious and illiterate folk medicine in Greek society, there were important differences both 'in the guiding mentality' and practice of 'popular medicine'. In support I offer the practices surrounding childbirth described by Sonnini, and the practice of 'engrafting' (inoculation for smallpox using the human type of virus) carried out by Greek women witnessed in the early and late eighteenth century by the physicians G. Pylarinos, E. Timoni, and F.C.H.L. Pouqueville.²⁶ Hence, the adoption of 'traditional medicine' to describe notions and practices relating to illness and therapy outside clerical and academic healing conventions.

'Traditional Medicine' in Greece has received attention in two bodies of literature: Firstly, the work of the Academy of Athens and in particular the Research Centre of Folklore Studies. Their extant material encompasses both primary sources and secondary literature. Increasingly, since the formation of the modern Greek state and especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, Greek academia had initiated a systematic collection and study of Greek language and customs. A primary motivation behind the vast initiative had been to counter J. Ph. Fallmerayer's (1790-1861) treatise *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters* published in 1830 and 1836. The German professor of history at the University of Munich argued that, following the numerous Slavic invasions in the Greek peninsula in the middle-ages, contemporary Greek society had no racial connection with classical Greece, were Greek in name only, and a group of Christian Orthodox people that just happened to speak Greek. Coming soon after the Greek liberation, the passionate debate occupied many European and Greek academics throughout the nineteenth century. The large volume of archival material was catalogued and extensively studied by academic specialists and in particular the foremost personality of Nicolaos Politis and his successors.²⁷ Notable

²⁵ David Gentilcore, 'Was there a "Popular Medicine" in Early Modern Europe?', *Folklore*, 115 (2004), 151-166.

²⁶ For details see Appendix 2 and pp. 177, 178, and 192.

²⁷ Nikolaos Politis, *Μελέται περί τοῦ Βίου καί τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Λαοῦ* (Studies on the life and language of the Greek people), 4 vols (Athens: Sakellariou, 1901); Nikolaos

among Politis' studies are *ΠΑΡΟΙΜΙΑΙ* (Proverbs), and *Studies on the life and language of the Greek people*.

Outside the Athens Academy, contributions to the genre have been prolific reflecting the wealth of source material and the vibrant public interest in Greek tradition. On the subject of medicine, a number of monographs and papers have set out to describe the multifaceted aspects of traditional therapeutics. Blums' study examines and contrasts modern healing practices in three Greek rural communities, Regatos and Triantafyllidis offer linguistic studies, some of which relate to medicine, whilst the cleric-author Paraskevopoulos provides a didactic critique about healing incantations from the official perspective of the Orthodox Church.²⁸

Of special interest to this thesis have been studies of Byzantine medicine at Dumbarton Oaks, Koukoules' major study of Byzantine Life, and the body of work connected with medical texts of the 17th and 18th centuries (iatrosophia), a significant corpus of manuscripts employed as vernacular manuals of medical instructions.²⁹ Firstly, in relation to medicine in Byzantium, the studies have helped to connect Politis' recent recordings with earlier practices thereby revealing the continuity of certain traditional healing customs and beliefs. Secondly, concerning iatrosophia, the papers by Hohlweg, Tselikas, and Touwaide point to the significance of this primary

Politis, *ΠΑΡΟΙΜΙΑΙ* (Proverbs), 2nd edn, 4 vols (Athens: Vivliorama, 1998); Georgios Megas, *Ζητήματα Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφίας* (Aspects of Greek Folklore), issue 3 [Reprint of 1942-1949 archive] (Athens: Academy of Athens, 1975); Georgios Megas, 'Δημώδης Ἱατρική' (Popular Medicine), *Year book of the Folkloric Archive, Academy of Athens*, (1941-1942), 163-195; D. M. Sarros, 'Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἠπείρῳ, Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη Συνθηματικῶν Γλωσσῶν' ('On the coded languages of Epirus, Macedonia and Thraki'), *Laografia* 36, (1923), 521-530.

²⁸ R. & E. Blum, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1965); Gerasimos Regatos, *Λεξικό Ἱατρικῆς Λαογραφίας* (Dictionary of Greek Medical Folklore) (Athens: Vita, 2000); M. A. Triantafyllidis, *Ἑλληνικὲς Συνθηματικὲς Γλώσσες* (Greek Coded Languages), offprint, *Hellinika*, 1 (1953); Germanos G. Paraskevopoulos, *Αἱ ἐν Ἠλείᾳ Μαγικαὶ Ἐπωδαί* (The magical incantations of Ilia) (Pyrgos, n. pub., 1976); Aglaia Bibi Papaspyropoulou, 'Παραδοσιακὴ Ἱατρικὴ στὴν Πελοπόννησο' (Traditional medicine in Peloponnissos) (Unpublished doctoral thesis, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 1980); Sevasti Chaviara – Karachaliou, *Ἡ Λαϊκὴ ἱατρικὴ τῆς Χίου* (Popular Healing in Chios) (Athens: Gasci, 1993); *Λαϊκὴ ἱατρικὴ* (Popular Healing), ed. ILER, Proceedings of the international scientific convention, Rethimno December 2000 (Rethimno: ILER, 2003).

²⁹ O. Temkin, Byzantine Medicine: Tradition and Empiricism, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962), 97-115; 'Symposium on Byzantine Medicine' *Dumbarton Oak Papers*, 38 (1984); Phedon Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὴ Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμὸς* (Byzantine Life and Civilisation), 6 vols (Athens: Institut Français d'Athènes, 1955);

source and, until very recently, its lack of academic study.³⁰ It seems possible that the Whiggish views of some physician-historians and other academics and the association of the texts with vernacular and magico-religious practices has militated against greater academic engagement with the manuscripts. As with Tselikas, Kostoula's study of Agapios Landos, author of *Geoponikon*, the most popular iatrosophic text of traditional medicine of the period, focuses exclusively on philological aspects.³¹ Cognisant of the importance of iatrosophic texts in the study of eighteenth-century Greek healing practice, this thesis introduces the relevant material and assesses its contribution to our understanding of contemporary therapeutics.

Neither the rare studies by practitioner-historians, nor the narratives put forward by clerical or lay authors provide a satisfactory exposition of the wider Greek medical culture of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In a number of cases, authors take a particularly partisan view over a therapeutic category seeking to defend it, dismiss it, or adopt a triumphalist view of its achievements. Other times, the focus of the work is limited in scope or related to medical practice of an earlier or later period. Excepting Karas' brief exposition of the wider context of Greek medical practice in the eighteenth century, and the unpublished thesis of Bibi- Papaspyropoulou on traditional medicine in Peloponissos, there have been few attempts by historians of medicine to synthesize the different categories of therapeutic practices and contexts. Nonetheless, all healing systems converged as sick people had a single end in mind: pain relief and therapy. Thus far, most of the existing studies of medicine are tightly focused, paying little attention to the wider religious, political, economic, social, governmental and cultural contexts in which the diverse healing systems were enmeshed at the time.

³⁰ Armin Hohlweg, 'Διάδοση και επιδράσεις της Βυζαντινής ιατρικής στους μετά τήν άλωση χρόνους (The diffusion and influence of Byzantine medicine in the time subsequent to the fall of Constantinople) and Agamemnon Tselikas, 'Τά Ἑλληνικά Γιατροσόφια: Μιά περοφρονημένη κατηγορία χειρογράφων (Greek Iatrosophia: A category of manuscripts scorned), both in 'Ιατρικά Βυζαντινά Χειρόγραφα' (Byzantine medical manuscripts), ed. by A. Diamandopoulos (Athens: Domos, 1995), pp. 32-56 (p. 37) and pp. 57-69 (p. 57) respectively; A. Touwaide, 'Byzantine Hospital Manuals (Iatrosophia) as a Source for the Study of Therapeutics' in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*, ed. by Barbara Bowers (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 147-173 (p.138).

³¹ Despina D. Kostoula, *Αγάπιος ο Λάνδος ο Κρης, Συμβολή στη Μελέτη του Έργου του* (Agapios Landos the Cretan, a contribution to the study of his work) (Ioannina: Research in Modern Greek Philology, 1983).

Moreover, some physician-historians, by emphasising the singular medical accomplishments of their co-professionals from the Ionian Islands have suggested that there could be an essential difference between the medical cultures of the Greek communities living under Venetian and Ottoman rule. By the analysis, comparison, and contrast of a diverse range of sources, this thesis seeks to identify key points of difference and convergence in the healing systems and beliefs of the two Greek communities.

Despite the central role of women in eighteenth century therapeutics, very little ink has been spilt on the role and contribution of Greek women to community health in that period. Family sick-care or recourse to a local healer, frequently female, were the norm in the agrarian Greek society of the time both in the countryside and in towns. As this thesis shows, women were also in charge of childbirth well into the nineteenth century. The thesis explores the medical role of Greek women, whether in a family environment, as local community healers, midwives, or in other related positions in the wider community.

Finally, from the underused iatrosophic texts, personal diaries, and reports, the thesis brings new material to the study of medicine in South Eastern Europe. The diverse iatrosophic manuscripts allow us to examine contemporary popular notions on the divine and the supernatural in matters of healing, the natural and supernatural therapeutic pathways followed by ordinary people, and the interactions between irregular and academic medicine. In the personal diaries and reports of traditional healers, physicians and other elite groups engaged with medicine at the time, the study synthesises language and personal experience to throw new light onto contemporary medical ideas and practices.

Noting the concerns and approaches of existing historiography, this thesis aims to provide a society-wide context for Greek medical culture; a context that reveals the broad scale of medicine in the community not only in the activities of the prime protagonists but also to related influences, ideologies, and strategies that had a bearing on Greek society.

Reflecting the scope of this project, materials have been selected from a wide range of sources. They include local and wider histories, Orthodox religious canon law and commentaries, encyclicals and saints' lives, personal

accounts and reports, case books, medical letters to patients and the learned community, diplomatic archives, manuscripts of vernacular healing manuals, traveller accounts, government edicts, medical guild regulations, and folklore customs. As all those engaged in Greek historiography have come to realise, important historical sources are located across a number of geographical locations, national organisations, institutions and private collections. Research had to be undertaken in these locations in order to build a representative data base from which to draw out and develop each argument. The Historical Archives of Corfu and the Corfu Reading Society are notable for two key reasons: Firstly, they provided material that enabled the investigation of the Venetian aspects of the study and of the interaction of the central authority with local communities. Secondly, the archives provided access to the reports and diaries of prominent personalities that allowed

- Greater understanding of Venetian government thinking and policy.
- A unique view of elite attitudes and ideas about matters concerning the community.
- The opportunity to compare and contrast the observations of foreign travellers and physicians with local learned opinions
- An appreciation of wider issues played out at a micro level.

From the archives of the Academy of Athens Folklore Research Centre, MIET and the Gennadius Library one was able to access data which allowed

- The exploration of the 'vernacular voice' of the Greek community in matters of health and illness.
- The investigation of the complex relationship of the Orthodox Church with its Greek congregation and its place as a therapeutic provider.
- The interplay of heritage, authority, conflict and rivalry that shaped the medical beliefs and structure of medicine in Greek society.

Aims and Methodology

The major aims of this thesis are to

- i) explore the social, political, religious and other forces that shaped the medical culture of the Greek society in the period prior to the establishment of the modern Greek state (1700-1821),

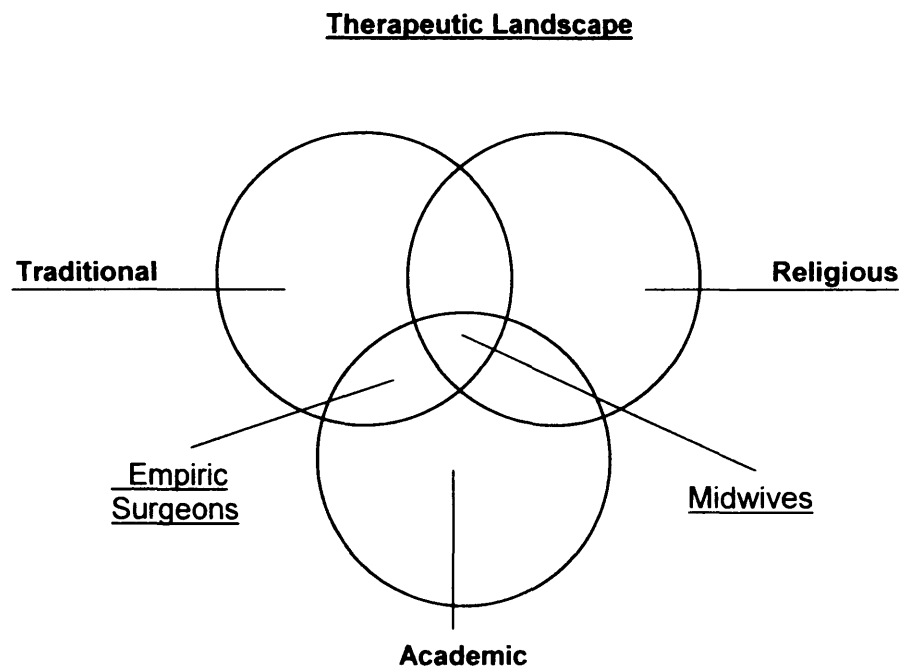
- ii) investigate contemporary therapeutics amongst the laity, the medical profession, and the Orthodox Church, and
- iii) consider the intellectual and practical relationships between the different healing practices.

The chapters as they appear in the thesis will be concerned with the following research aims:

- To trace the conditioning influences of continuity and change that fashioned the medical ideas, institutions, experience and rationality of illness in Greek society.
- To examine the principal factors that determined the health of the Greek community.
- To investigate the mode by which Orthodox Church doctrine and outlook rationalized illness, the nature of Orthodox religious healing, and the extent to which Orthodox medical beliefs and practices were embraced by the Greek community.
- To explore the ideologies and practices of traditional healing, its popularity, and place in Greek society.
- To examine the forces that determined the character and mindset of Greek physicians, the prevailing medical philosophies, delivery of medical care, and interaction of physician and state health with the community.
- To evaluate the interrelatedness of the different healing systems and beliefs from an intellectual and practical viewpoint.

Central to this project is a methodological approach that can accommodate the plurality of the diverse secular therapeutic avenues and take account of the important place of the Orthodox Church as a pastoral and healing resource to the Greek community. The combination of D. Gentilcore's model of 'Medical pluralism' together with the synthesis afforded by qualitative analysis enables the historian to give attention to the mentalities and actions of the sick and the healers, consider them as part of a cohesive whole, and develop a centralised perspective on the subject. The model accommodates all the varieties of healing situations and aetiologies encountered in the research. Hence, in the 'academic' medicine sphere the analysis includes

university educated physicians, authorised apothecaries, and state medical initiatives such as preventive measures for contagion. The 'religious' sphere considers Orthodox Church views on the causes of disease, healing saints, votive offerings, and the work of healer-priests. The 'traditional' sphere takes into account popular perceptions of disease, empiric surgeons, itinerant healers, community-based healers and midwives. The ring lines in the schematic model below are fluid, accommodate change, and do not suggest clear demarcation points or conscious categorisation of illness by the afflicted. In addition, they assist in illustrating points of 'overlap', that is the practical and intellectual interconnections between different healing systems and beliefs. The change in 'healing category' names compared to Gentilcore's original has been introduced in order to reflect Greek terminology but the model is fundamentally identical.



D. Gentilcore's Medical pluralism model: healers and disease categories³²

³² David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1998), p. 3.

The two other methodologies used in the project are qualitative and quantitative analysis. As noted above, a diverse range and quantity of material connected with this project and period has been brought together, much of which has not been used for medical historical research. The methodological approach of qualitative analysis combined with Gentilcore's model, offers further advantages. It allows for the construction of thematic structures and narrative that simplify the intricate nature of the source material. It enables the historian to contextualise and synthesize the material against common themes such as disease causation, supernatural healing, etc. Quantitative analysis plays a part, albeit comparatively small, as the amount of institutional data and personal records are few in number and offer relatively limited opportunities to this investigation.

This is an appropriate stage at which to discuss the matter of European traveller accounts as evidence for the medical world of Greek society. As Wolff and Bracewell have remarked, such accounts bring along their own prejudices and raise questions about the homogeneity of perspectives.³³ Wolff highlights the often negative traveller views of Orthodoxy and especially Orthodox rituals, ceremonies, and the alleged 'ignorance' of the Orthodox clergy. Bracewell points to the possibilities of inconsistent and contradictory ways of traveller representations depending on the circumstances. In the context of the period, Angelomatis-Tsougarakis' study of British travellers in Greece, 1800-21, re-affirms such concerns but also points out that their evidence can be useful in particular subjects, when put together and considered as a whole, and carefully, and critically examined.³⁴ Aspects of the medical landscape of the region can be of value to this thesis, especially when gleaned from reports of academic physician travellers. For example, considered as part of a broader research base, the observations of F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, a physician with long residence in the region and a Greek

³³ Wolff, *The Enlightenment and the Orthodox World*, pp. 148-149; Wendy Bracewell, 'Balkan Travel Writing - Introduction', *Journeys*, 6, 1-2 (2005), 1-2 (p. 2); Also, Wendy Bracewell, 'Orientalism, Occidentalism and Cosmopolitanism: Balkan travel writings on Europe', in *Bulgarian Society for 18th Century Studies* <http://bulgc18.com/occidentalism/bracewell_en.htm> [accessed 9 June 2008], and Kyriakos Simopoulos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα*, (Foreign Travellers to Greece), 3 vols (Athens: Stachi, 1999).

³⁴ Helen Angelomatis – Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival, British travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth – Century Greece* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 210-211.

speaker, help to illustrate the activities of empiric surgeons. Some times, the nature and format of evidence by specific medical authors is given special attention as in the case of John Hennen, Principal Medical Officer of the British Navy in the Mediterranean. Hennen's structured report on the health conditions prevailing in the Ionian Islands early in the nineteenth century formed part of a larger study encompassing Gibraltar and Malta.³⁵ Hence, each traveller account is considered carefully and, wherever possible, it is compared and contrasted with related information from other sources, Western European or indigenous.

Concerning Greek text, those familiar with Greek language would know that it has undergone a number of changes in the last three hundred years. In most cases I have tried to retain the style of the original text. In addition, in order to assist the reader to place a cited work into context, in the footnotes and bibliography section I have included a translation of the Greek title into English. Responsibility for inaccuracies is mine. Otherwise, footnotes are given in accordance with the MHRA style guide (2002). In an effort to stay within the historical context of the work I have kept Greek names largely as they were given in contemporary material, e.g. Zante, Corfu, Saloniki. Similarly, the region encompassing the seven islands under Venetian rule will be variously referred as the Ionian Islands, the Septinsular Republic, or Heptanissos in accordance with the original text.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 uses a combination of original archival material and existing secondary texts to provide the setting against which to consider the medical world of Greek society. It illustrates the political power contexts in which medical ideas, institutions, and practices evolved, and explores the influences of Venetian, Ottoman, and Orthodox Church rule on the psychological and physical temperament of the Greek community.

Chapter 2 constructs a 'medical landscape' against which to explore the implications of the therapeutic model. Using the available research it

³⁵ John Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, ed. by his son J. Hennen (London: Underwood, 1830).

examines the state of health of the community and the principal factors that determined their health, vitality and resistance to infection.

Chapter 3 charts and examines the religious healing sphere from the perspectives of disease causation, healing practices, and popularity of religious healing options among the community. It argues that in tandem with its healing role, the Church was instrumental in preserving Orthodox community sensitivities and long-established systems of belief.

Chapter 4 turns to the exploration of traditional healing. It examines popular ideas on the causes of disease, traditional healers and their methods, and shows that, as a result of the prevailing socio-economic conditions, they were the first option of choice for the substantial majority of the population.

Chapter 5 focuses on the investigation of academic medicine. It examines the influence of European academic exposure on Greek physicians and their place in the community as healers and as a political force. It argues that the experience of European intellectual debates inspired physicians to engage beyond medicine into local politics, the health improvement of ordinary people, and the raising of the intellectual capital of the Greek community.

Chapter 6 explores the implications of the pluralistic medical model in terms of the practical and intellectual interconnections between the different healing systems and beliefs and the wider European medical world.

This is a study of Greek medical culture in the last stage of the *long durée* of Venetian and Ottoman rule. It examines the pluralistic healing practices of the Greek Orthodox community and in the process opens a window onto the Greek society of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

1. Under Turban and Tiara

Nothing could be more fortunate than the aspect
under which we saw a scene, thus magnificent in
itself, and interesting in the associations it afforded.

Henry Holland³⁶

So wrote Henry Holland, physician and Fellow of the Royal Society, on the afternoon of 18th October 1812. He had sailed from Messina four days previously in a small cutter which was now approaching the shores of the Ionian Islands in the eastern Mediterranean. He was one of many travellers to be charmed by their natural beauty and fascinated by the history of the Greek world. Remarkably, Holland thought that the interest which Europeans took in Greece referred not merely to her ancient past but 'the future condition of a people who are again resuming a national character'.³⁷

For centuries, a number of mostly unwelcome visitors fought for supremacy amid the ruins of classical Greece. Her position between East and West and safe harbours along valuable trade routes offered major strategic advantages to those seeking expansion, conquest or the sinews of war. Earthquakes added their marks to those left by Goth, Norman and Crusader. The arrival of the Ottomans in Anatolia in the fourteenth century and the subsequent fall of Constantinople in 1453 ensured that local rivalries were overshadowed by the seminal conflict between the Christian West and Islam. Placed on the crossroads of the encounter and despite the personal preferences of the Byzantine Grand Duke Loukas Notaras, Orthodox Greeks fell under the rule of both the Ottoman turban and Catholic tiara: 'It is preferable to see in the middle of the city [Constantinople] a reigning Turkish turban than a Latin tiara'.³⁸ For the next four centuries, Venice and the Sublime Porte would also put their stamp on the condition, national character, and evolution of Henry Holland's Greeks.

³⁶ Henry Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c. during the years 1812 and 1813* (London: Longman, Hurst, Orme, and Brow, 1815), p.12.

³⁷ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, p. iv.

³⁸ 'Κρείττον ἐστὶν εἶδέναι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει βασιλεῖον Τούρκων ἢ καλύπτραν Λατινικήν'. Michael Dukas, 'Historia Byzantina', in *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. by J. P. Migne, (Paris: Migne, Garnier, Turnhout, Brepols, 1860), pp. 750-1166, (p 1071).

Both the Serenissima and Porte imposed their particular flavour of feudalism over their Greek subjects. 'The peasants are never contented; they rise against their lords on the smallest provocation' remarked Andrea della Marmora in 1672, a historian of Byzantine origin and member of Venice's ruling nobility in the island of Corfu.³⁹ From the Ionian sea to the West, to the Anatolia coast and Cyprus to the East, the island of Candia (present day Crete) to the South, and Macedonia and Constantinople to the North, Greek subjects experienced 'rule from the centre' exercised through a combination of dependence, favour, and multi-faceted coercion.

Writing to his friend Bourlat de Montredon from Ottoman Constantinople in the middle of the eighteenth century, the merchant, litterateur, and member of the Academy of Marseilles P.A Guys observed:

Would you imagine there are yet in this [Greek] nation,
not only poets, but even philosophers and sages?
The humble character and manners of those last are
a fine contrast to the vanity of some who having commands
under the government, or puffed up with presumption
by their credit and opulence, take ample revenge on their
equals and inferiors for the humiliating baseness with
which they are often obliged to crouch beneath the authority
of a Turkish officer.⁴⁰

We are not aware whether the physician Holland had read Marmora or Guys' 'Sentimental Journey', yet it appears that, for Guys, the Greek national character rather than being 'in the process of resumption' was very much alive. Clearly, distinctions of authority influenced the daily encounter with life of Guys' poets, whilst in his philosophers and sages, one traces aspects of long-held tradition and continuity. How far did the remarks from Marmora and Guys reflect the experience and *mentalités* of the Greek society in the

³⁹ Quoted in William Miller, 'The Ionian Islands under Venetian Rule', *English Historical Review*, 70, (April, 1903), 209-239 (p. 218).

⁴⁰ Pierre Augustin Guys, *A Sentimental Journey through Greece in a series of letters written from Constantinople*, 3 vols (London: Cadell, 1772), i, pp. 26-27.

eighteenth century?⁴¹ Moreover, what were the conditioning influences of continuity and change that shaped its character, helped define the experience and rationality of illness, and influenced medical practice on the eve of the Greek revival and the establishment of an independent state? ⁴²

1.1 The Social Order - Venetian Rule

The writer Padre Paolo provides an illuminating portrayal of sovereign rule by Venice in her Greek territories. At the invitation of the Inquisition of the State of Venice in 1615, he offered the following opinion as to how the Republic ought to govern itself at home and abroad:

For your Greek subjects of the island of Candia and of the other islands of the Levant, there is no doubt but there is some greater regard to be had of them, first, because that the Greek faith is never to be trusted...lest, like wild beasts that they are, they should find an occasion to use their teeth and claws. The surest way is, to keep garrisons to awe them....as for the gentlemen of these colonies, you must be very watchful of them...if [the gentlemen] do tyrannize over the villages of their dominions, the best way is not to seem to see it, that there may be no kindness between them and their subjects.⁴³

The Great Council of Venice endorsed Paolo's doctrine. Administration was based on that of the Republic. In the eighteenth century, authority over all of the Serenissima's Ionian Island territories was invested in a great noble,

⁴¹ Here I adopt Jacques Le Goff's use of the term *mentalité* as 'mental outlook as expressed in discourse and artifacts' with particular emphasis on thought habits and unfocussed assumptions of life; Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. by A. Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 3. Further, my use of the word 'society' is as 'a community of people living in a particular country or region and having shared customs, laws, and organisations'. *OED*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003).

⁴² Historical studies for the period have been produced by Greek and European scholars. My emphasis on the Greek 'medical world' of the eighteenth century restricts the range of available scholarly works considerably. Works by Richard Clogg, Kon. Dimaras, Michael Herzfeld, Yiannis Karas, Paschalis Kitromilidis, Vasilios N. Makrides, Mark Mazower, George Ostrogorsky, Maria Todorova, Traian Stoianovich, Apost. E. Vacalopoulos amongst others cited in this study can provide the reader with diverse and extensive perspectives on the history of Greece in the period.

⁴³ Quoted in Henry Jervis-White Jervis, *History of the Island of Corfu and of the Republic of the Ionian Islands* (London: Colburn, 1852), p. 148.

known as the *Provveditore Generale del Levante*, appointed by the Grand Council for a three-year period. Befitting his eminence and the need to reinforce political strength through public ritual, arrival to the islands was marked by a public holiday and 'he was expected to keep considerable state..., four liveried servants, two messengers, and three musicians to play horn and trumpet alternately during meals'.⁴⁴ Most important state jobs were in his gift and under his control whilst Venice thought it wise to maintain the illusion of community participation in government. So whereas each Ionian island had its own administrative council, political organisation was based on exclusion. The Islands' population was divided into three distinct classes: the aristocrats (*nobili*), the middle classes (*cittadini or civili*), and the people of the towns (*popolari*) and countryside (*villani or contadini*). Participation in the government of the Islands was open only to the patricians. Their names were inscribed in a *Golden Book (Libro d' Oro)* as a formal, publicly accredited, long-enduring witness; a ritual process and symbol of authority. Such public endorsement of 'right' was essential to a regime relying on long-acquired feudal privileges.

A further sign of the assertion of political superiority is the highly visible church painting of the Litany of St. Charalambos 'by the river' in the island of Zante; a symbol of social order in the language of a quasi-religious image.⁴⁵ Particularly conspicuous at 7.55 m x 0.78 m, it is a very large work on canvas showing the public procession of the Saint's Holy Relic and representing the strictly-ranked society of the time. (Illustration 2) Painted in 1756, it is headed by children and young men holding the *labari* (standards) of guilds, such as the bakers, and those of the church of Saint Charalambos. Musicians are followed by boys in dark surplices holding candles before the four priests carrying the icon of the Saint on their shoulders. A great procession of priests in luxurious vestments is followed by the *Πρωτοπαπάς* (*Proto / First Priest*) of Zante holding a silver staff. Behind him, come a guard of honour, the canopy borne by three *Σύνδικοι* (*Syndics / officials*) and the *Provveditore* (*Governor*) of the island, and a priest bearing the Holy Relics.

⁴⁴ Michael Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire* (London: Rex Collings, 1978), p. 20.

⁴⁵ Maurice Bloch, *Ritual, History and Power: Selected Papers in Anthropology* (London: Athlone, 1989), p.29.

Other officials and island gentry follow according to rank in the fine costumes of the period. Thus, the squirearchical ladder is clearly marked out and sanctioned by divine authority through God's anointed officials on Zantiot earth. In mutual support, Venetian and Orthodox Church authority was blessed and proclaimed for the appreciation of the faithful.

Despite their small number, exclusive access to the state apparatus enabled the *nobili* to preserve the status quo and dominate the majority for centuries. In 1811 Zante's population estimate was 33,400, yet in his report to the Chief of the British Forces Sir John Stewart, Count Paolo Mercati stated with natural approbation:

under the period of Venetian government [Zante's *nobili*]
enjoyed many privileges and numbered ninety three families.
They comprised the city's Council and their members were
elected to the offices which are necessary for the proper
government of the country.⁴⁶

Whilst there were some differences between the Ionian islands, Mercati's testimony underlines the distinctions of authority and wealth right through the territory: the privileged few drawing their strength from political means through pedigree and privilege. Unlike their Venetian counterparts, however, they were landowners rather than merchants.⁴⁷ With time, their relationship with the majority of the population who eked out a living from land and sea evolved into that of 'master and bondsman'. The oppressive law of *Fidei commissum* ensured that most of the land in the Ionian Islands would stay in the ownership of the powerful and the Church.⁴⁸ In reference to land

⁴⁶ Paolo Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Città ed Isola di Zante, (Zante, 1811)*, trans. by Vangelis Kefallonitis (Zakynthos: Entypo, 2002), p. 65. Born in 1771, the offspring of a patrician and prosperous Zantiot family, P. Mercati studied philosophy in Padua. Upon his return to the Island he assumed the role of treasurer, a position he held for thirty five years. With access to a most reliable set of economic and demographic data and thorough understanding of the socio-economic forces in his society, Mercati's concise but germane information illuminates the social, political, and economic picture in Serenissima's Greek territories.

⁴⁷ George Yannouloupoulos, 'State and Society in the Ionian Islands, 1800-1830', in *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*, ed. by Richard Clogg (London: Macmillan, 1981), pp.40-59 (p. 47).

⁴⁸ This was a gift of property to a person, usually a relation, to safeguard continuity of

possession and management in Corfu, Emmanouil Theotokis (1779-1837) leaves no room for doubt as to the corrupt manner of its acquisition and administration: 'Pour la plus grand partie..., mal distribués, souvent immodérés, perçus d'une manière embarrassante'; a surprising and clear condemnation of aristocratic government by a descendant of Corfu's principal family.⁴⁹ Baron Theotokis was a product of Italian university education with degrees in philosophy and history and a nephew of Nikiforos Theotokis (1731-1800), a leading personality of the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment. Many of the Islands' vulnerable *villani* and *popolari* were forced to seek economic and physical security in the protective bosom of their money lender and landowner. Such protection as they received came at a very high price:

.. common to every class of person..., much violence,
abuse of power, extortion, pillage, plunder, slander, and
other forms of crime, occur continuously...

reported *Provveditore* Cicogna on 14th September 1754 to the Venetian Senate referring to the lamentable state of his Kefalonian custodianship.⁵⁰

These were not qualities exclusive to the local aristocracy. At the time when the Venetian Senate was forced to issue a decree calling on patrician dames to attend theatre dressed in 'decent apparel', contemporary high society in the Lagoon were of the opinion that 'in truth, vices are absolutely necessary to the life of a State'.⁵¹ The eighteenth century was one of marked decline in the Serenissima's fortunes. The new Atlantic trade routes had particularly dire consequences for her general carrying trade and lucrative commerce in *materia medica*. The war with Turkey had ominous consequences for her shipping trade much of which passed to French ships

Ownership; in S. Theotokis, 'Η Έκπαίδευσις ἐν Ἑπτανήσῳ 1453-1864' (Education in the Heptanissos 1453-1864), p. 11.

⁴⁹ Emmanouil Theotokis, *Détails sur Corfou* (Corfu: n. pub., 1826), p. 43.

⁵⁰ Elias A. Tsitselis, 'Συμβολαί εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν καὶ Λαογραφίαν τῆς νήσου Κεφαλληνίας' (Contribution to the History and Folklore of the island of Kefalonia), *Kefaliniaka Simikta*, 3 vols (1960), ii, pp. 431-432.

⁵¹ Quoted in Pompeo Molmenti, *Venice: its individual growth from the earliest beginnings to the fall of the Republic*, trans H. F. Brown, 3 vols (London: Murray, 1908), iii, The decadence, Part 1, pp. 165 and 173.

and coffers. Trade data for the port of Thessaloniki in 1751, compiled by the Venetian consul Dimitrios Choidas, show 100 French ships compared with '5 – 6 Venetian'.⁵² The damaging effects from the conflict were felt for a very long time by her Greek subjects whose livelihood and quality of life relied on earnings from direct labour in the Ottoman lands and government expenditure in the islands as a result of sea commerce.

Without consular representation in some key Ottoman ports, Venetian trade in the region had become especially difficult. Furthermore, the war could have major economic, social and health repercussions for the Greek community of Zante: 'The population would not be able to survive for long without free access to the [Ottoman-ruled] mainland. Every year two, maybe three thousand islanders return [from work in the Morea at harvest time] with grain, etc. for their own consumption' observed P. Mercati.⁵³ This suggests a widespread annual migration of 'one in seven' of the island's adult population.

Clearly in such circumstances, there were far greater individual priorities and limited motivation among the Venetian Senate than to intervene in the misrule of the Islands by its own officials or promote costly public welfare and health initiatives. Despite the grim and deteriorating situation in the region, badly paid officials sent from Venice made money out of the locals, and at times the home government, with little fear of detection. Occasionally, their jurisdictional authority gave easy access to income from bribery. Eighteenth-century accounts of travellers are consistent in highlighting the extreme levels of violence, usury and endemic official corruption: 'I have been sent here by the Senate in order to get rich', volunteered the Venetian *Provveditore* of Zante to the Sicilian traveller Scrofani in 1794.⁵⁴ Often, justice became a sham and subject to the right price. 'Oil!, oil!' shouted the wife of an infamous Zante *Provveditore* whenever she heard a shot fired, knowing that her spouse would receive oil warrants for acquitting the murderer.⁵⁵ Her

⁵² K. Mertzios, *Μνημεία Μακεδονικής Ιστορίας* (Records of Macedonian History) (Thessaloniki: Macedonian Library, 1947), p. 347; A publication incorporating the correspondence of the Venetian consuls in the port of Thessaloniki for the period 1700-1779.

⁵³ Mercati, *Saggio Storico* p. 53.

⁵⁴ See the travellers De Mirone, Foucherot, Saint Sauveur, Scrofani, and Morrit quoted in Simopoulos, ii (1700-1800), pp. 96, 440, 549, 550, 611; Mercati's report also alludes to the intense conflict between factions in the Island of Zante, p.39.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, p. 36.

prospects for quick riches were high. The popular saying in the island at the time declared 'there's a murder for every day of the year'.⁵⁶

Between such masters and their servants were the *cittadini or civili* doing their best to earn a living out of craft and trade. Provisioning and bargaining were preferable to soil and toil. Artisan and merchant jostled in Mercati's Zante which, like Corfu and Kefalonia, was an important port of call for the trading vessels of the Levant and the Venetian army and navy. The remarkably high number and variety of tradesmen and artisans in the town bears witness to the high impact of sea trade and commerce on the Islands:

Table 1. Greek population of the Island of Zante by occupation in 1811⁵⁷

Builders / Stone cutters	337	Gold / Silver smiths	110
Blacksmiths	67	Gold platers / Varnishers	14
Wood-turners/ carpenters,		Food merchants	168
carvers, spinning wheel makers	152	Watch makers	6
Yarn makers (Female)	750	Copper / tin smiths	19
Sailors	430	Potters	51
Boat builders	49	Gun makers	18
Tanners	35	Butchers	65
Mill artisans, millstone cutters	39	Fishermen	284
Coopers	59	Pasta makers	23
Organ makers	3	Bakers	75
Rope makers	13	Confectioners	15
Shoemakers / cobblers	256	Distillers	17
Carpet makers	8	Soap makers	19
Silk-growers	55	Candle makers	9
Dyers	48	Glass makers	11
Tailors	149	Printers	2
Coat-makers	29	Barbers / Hairdressers	58
Hat makers	5	Porters	72
Blood letters	76	Wood cutters	19
Pharmacists	18	Coffee-house keepers	19
Doctors and Surgeons	16	Painters	14
Lawyers / Notaries	107	Small merchants	188

⁵⁶ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, p. 23.

⁵⁷ Mercati, *Saggio Storico*, pp. 79-81.

Some of these professionals and artisans would rise sufficiently to buy their way in the Venetian top table and inscribe their name in the *Libro d'oro*. As early as 1647, the Republic, in tight financial straits, allowed ennoblement to a citizen for the fee of 500 ducats. This was not a tax on vanity but the entry ticket to political influence, privilege and economic gain. Consequently, the healthy membership to the *nobili* club was maintained and the harsh living conditions for the *popolari* and *villani* continued as before.

Treasurer P. Mercati's high number of Zantiot silver smiths, tailors, shoemakers, and merchants suggests market influences originating beyond the confines of the Ionian sea and significant opportunities for economic and cultural contacts with the East and West. Despite the economic, social, and physical challenges, access to Western Europe and the Ottoman-ruled world was possible, helping to develop a particularly cosmopolitan character among the islanders.

The arrival of the French at the close of the eighteenth century brought the departure of Venice, new insights on 'citizenship' and the symbolic celebratory public burning of the *Libro d' Oro* in Corfu's main square. Further political changes involved Turkey and Russia and the gradual occupation of the Islands by British forces. In the Treaty of Paris in 1815, the territory was ceded to Britain. The period leading to the British possession was one of continuing uncertainty, change, physical hardship and discontent. Satirists reflected the contemporary accounts of grim social, political, and health conditions for the majority of the population. In 1804, Koutouzis, imitating the *People's Grievance*, an earlier, highly popular creation of another Zantiot, Antonios Martelaos, called for the wrath of Zeus against the wretched aristocrats:

Oh Zeus it seems to me you cannot see... the
tears and groans of the Zantiot poor... more
tortured and grieved than the biblical Jew.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Quoted in Sathas, *Τό ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἀρχοντολόγιον καί οἱ ποπολάροι* (The story of Zante's aristocrats and the lower classes), pp. 6-7.

Koutouzis' call for divine assistance included the Orthodox Church. With most of the Ionian Islands' Greek community upholding the Orthodox creed, the Church provided the focal point of convergence for the majority of the people. Prudently, the Venetians had not invited the authority of the Pope over the dyed-in-the-wool Orthodox flock. Protection from forceful Papal intrusion into its affairs strengthened the position of the Orthodox Church and nurtured a mutually supportive relationship between Constantinople and Venice.⁵⁹ Thus, the great power of the Patriarch over all Greek clergy extended to that of the Ionian Islands. The Patriarch's influence on the secular and spiritual affairs of the congregation was profound and, as the leading institution in the community's affairs, the Orthodox Church occupied a key role in the spiritual and physical well-being of Greek Orthodox society. Over the years, the Church was allowed to become a big landowner with property acquired or endowed by the faithful.

Local priests knew and had frequent contact with most of the people in their parish. The remarkable number of clerics and churches for the Orthodox throughout the islands ensured their authority was all-pervasive. In the island of Kythera a population of nine thousand was serviced by one hundred and sixty five priests and no fewer than two hundred and sixty churches or chapels of different descriptions.⁶⁰ Around the same time, Corfu's Orthodox clerics numbered three hundred and eighty five for a congregation of some 45,000 attending services in 584 places of worship.⁶¹ They dispensed justice and provided society's moral code. They baptised, married, and buried all who were born into it. They provided explanations for human misfortune and, throughout the seasons, offered religious rites to shelter the faithful from natural or preternatural threats. They blessed the grain, the wine, a new boat and performed Holy rites for the demonically possessed, the healing of the

⁵⁹ A. C. Tsitsas, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κέρκυρας κατὰ τὴν Λατινοκρατίαν 1267-1797* (The Church of Kerkyra during the Latin Rule 1267-1797), (Kerkyra: n. pub., 1969), pp. 40-71.

⁶⁰ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, p. 43.

⁶¹ Stylianos Vlassopoulos, *Στατιστικά Ἱστορικά περὶ Κερκύρας Εὐδήσεις* (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), trans. from the Italian by A. Tsitsas, *Kefaliniaka Chronika*, 21 (1977), 1-126 (pp. 33, 63-64). Born to a patrician Corfiot family S. Vlassopoulos (1748-1822), a law graduate of Padua University, took an active part in the public affairs of his birthplace, amongst them, as *Provveditore alla Sanità*, Judge, and Chief *Amministratore del Governo* in Corfu and Santa Mavra. A copy of his manuscript *Saggio di Statistica dell' Isola di Corfu* was discovered in Paris, translated, and published in 1977. It is acknowledged as a unique source of information of Ionian Island affairs during his lifetime.

sick and the protection of the community from plague. Yet, despite such immense influence, the exercise of Church authority in the islands was surpassed by that of the Orthodox prelates in the Ottoman lands across the water.

1.2 The Social Order - Ottoman Rule

In December 1757, the Sublime Porte chastised the Ottoman officials in the region of Roumeli for the arbitrary extraction of taxes and other payments from the Sultan's subjects:

let it be known that if in future it comes to my knowledge that such oppressive treatment takes place, I will not close my eyes, and if the offender is a *vizier* he will be punished in exemplary fashion if he is *miri miran* he will, lose his office and be punished, and if *cadis* or *agas* do not take action against such practices and report [them] to me, they will be punished for their guilt.⁶²

By contrast, the imperial *ferman* delivered to the *cadi* of Thessaloniki in November 1715, and the consular report of 1770 present a much less benign state of affairs:

Most learned judge... upon the arrival of this high imperial edict let it be known that those ten tributaries of the said villages caused the refusal of capitation tax payment by inciting the Greek flock. Consequently, issue my order that, as a punishment, they must be held in the fort of Kalamaria... the capitation tax is the legal income of the state and the *cadis*, *voyvodas*, *timariotes*, and the others living in the country are obliged to help the [tax] collector.

The janissaries that have been forced to join the army... started to depart at last... They number over 1500 here... the violence and barbarism which they carried out in this city are unaccounted. Every day 7-8 unfortunate Greeks

⁶² Ioannis K. Vasdravellis, *Ιστορικά Αρχεία Μακεδονίας* (Historical Archives of Macedonia), B' Archive of Veria – Naoussa 1598-1886 (Thessaloniki: Eteria Makedonikon Spoudon, 1954), pp. 165-166. It is an extensive collection of official Ottoman documents (*fermans*) of the period, from the administrative areas of Veria and Naoussa, translated into Greek.

and Jews were murdered. Similarly, unaccounted are those robbed in the streets in daylight.⁶³

These cases give a taste of Ottoman government in action among its Greek and other subjects: a degree of protection from the unceasing vicissitudes of corrupt officials, in tandem with strict and unforgiving punishment for those who disobeyed the rules, and the sporadic violence meted out by unrestrained soldiers to subject peoples. The ten candidates for incarceration were Orthodox priests and Greek notables. It was their business to see that taxes were paid properly and their flock refrained from any illegal activity. Indeed, under the *modus vivendi* agreed with the Sultan, Orthodox Church prelates were first in line for punishment whenever the authority of the Ottoman state was challenged: the *quid pro quo* for his grant of communal autonomy and their unique role as religious and civil leaders.⁶⁴

1453 was a seminal year for Eastern Christendom. With the fall of Constantinople, the Byzantine Empire had come to an end. Yet the last chapter of the Emperor heralded a new beginning for the Patriarch, his officials and the Orthodox priesthood. Their conqueror Sultan Mehmet II looked to *millet* as the preferred system of governing his non-Moslem, vanquished peoples.⁶⁵ Under this arrangement, a man's nationality was equated with his religion. In Ottoman lands all Moslems, irrespective of their racial origins, were obeying the same law and the same chief, the representative of the prophet on earth, the Caliph.⁶⁶

In dealing with matters relating to the administration of the infidel and subject peoples, the Conqueror naturally considered the situation within his familiar framework: they belonged to the Orthodox *millet* or the Jewish *millet*

⁶³ Ioannis K. Vasdravellis, *Ιστορικά Αρχεία Μακεδονίας* (Historical Archives of Macedonia), A' Archive of Thessaloniki 1695- 1912 (Thessaloniki: Eteria Makedonikon Spoudon, 1952), pp. 123-124, no. 93, K.26, 43/44. An extensive collection of official Ottoman documents (*fermans*) of the period, from the administrative areas of Thessaloniki, translated into Greek; Mertzios, *Μνημεία Μακεδονικής Ιστορίας* (Records of Macedonian History), p. 412.

⁶⁴ Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), p.11. On the outbreak of the Greek revolution in 1821, Patriarch Grigorios V, and a number of other religious and civic leaders were executed for failing in their duty.

⁶⁵ *Millet*: (literally 'nation'); A population group based on religious affiliation during the period of Ottoman rule.

⁶⁶ Theodore H. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination* (Brussels: Bibliotheca Graeca Aevi Posterioris – I, 1952), p. 8.

and their religious chiefs held the rank of 'national' leader. Consequently, in his role as the religious head of the Orthodox *millet*, the Patriarch of Constantinople found himself in the position of both spiritual leader and chief lay administrator. 'Local Caesar as well as deputy of God', reasoned S. Runciman.⁶⁷ As for his Church, for the first time in its history, it assumed a clearly temporal character by becoming a key formal instrument of state policy and administration.

From the great Justinian's time, bishops were pre-eminent in exercising moral and, unofficially, secular authority within the Orthodox community.⁶⁸ This time, however, such Byzantine practices would be endorsed by the formal blessing of a Moslem, the Sultan. Characteristically, the *berats*, diplomas of nomination of a new Patriarch, incorporated clauses relating to the Orthodox community's civil rights including those affecting property and succession.⁶⁹ Under the new regime, the Orthodox Church was obliged to hold certain law courts, assist in the provision of fiscal services, give directives on political matters, and, importantly, allowed a free hand to care for the health of its congregation.

Sheltered from Catholic intrusion into the affairs of the Orthodox community, Eastern Greek Orthodoxy would remain fiercely loyal to the Patriarch and draw its sense of identity and moral direction from long-lasting Byzantine customs and traditions. In a generally hostile environment, the local priest would be a clear link with the past, the single source of spiritual guidance, and the provider of pastoral care to the Orthodox 'from cradle to grave.' Manifestly, such change was significant both for the clergy and their flock. For the next four hundred years, their respective fortunes would be bound together as never before. For its part, however, the Orthodox Church would rely upon the grace of Moslem authority by links of personal dependence and obligation to act as an instrument of the state at all times and in all circumstances.

⁶⁷ Steven Runciman, *The Orthodox Churches and the Secular State* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 1971), p.29.

⁶⁸ Spyros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamisation from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth century*, Greek trans K. Galatariotou (Athens: MIET, 2000), p. 20,

⁶⁹ Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination*, p. 10.

The eighteenth century was especially turbulent for the Sublime Porte and its subjects throughout the region. The long war with Venice, the military conflicts with Peter and Catherine the Great, the insurrection of the Morea in 1770, and a series of great fires and earthquakes in Constantinople and elsewhere within the realm, put great pressure on the sovereign purse and social cohesion.⁷⁰ The strong arm of Ottoman government had to keep a firm grip on the Empire if it was to uphold the *status quo*. Supervision of the provinces was entrusted to *pashas* each of whom ruled his territory by the grace of the Sultan. Their authority, over Moslem and infidel, was political and military, absolute and visible. Typically, the notorious Ali Pasha allowed little room for disobedience, whilst the grand arrival and behaviour of the pashas of Tripoli had the expected, alarming, impact on local subjects, English clerics, and French physicians.⁷¹

Occasionally, such grand overlords carried the title of *Vezir*.⁷² Their provinces were divided into smaller units and, depending on their size, ruled by a *vali*, a *voyvoda*, *bey*, *aga* or *spahi*. The *cadis* (local Moslem religious magistrates) handled all local judicial matters brought to their attention. Fear of harsher treatment persuaded the Orthodox to contain disputes within their community.

With the exception of land owned by Greek Orthodox monasteries, all Ottoman land was state-owned and the Sultan, as a rule, its owner. Whenever a new Sultan came to the throne, all fief holders whether religious institutions or vassals, were obliged to renew their grant of fief. As such, landownership assumed significance beyond the economic. In the predominantly agrarian Ottoman society, land ownership became a symbol of imperial empowerment and dependence, exercise of the ultimate authority, power-group affiliation, and an agreeably comfortable existence. Fief-holders epitomized the close relationship between land and political influence, the latter made especially

⁷⁰ K. Metzios, pp.271-274. The Venetian consuls' reports from Thessaloniki clearly demonstrate the economic and social liabilities resulting from the Porte's exacting demands to provision military campaigns.

⁷¹ W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 4 vols (London: Rodwell, 1835), i, p. 497; Rev. Thomas Smart Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania*, (London: Mawman, 1820), p. 187, and F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Travels through the Morea, Albania, and several other parts of the Ottoman empire to Constantinople during the years 1798, 1799, 1800, and 1801*, (London: Phillips, 1806), pp. 27-28.

⁷² Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, i, p. 38.

visible by their commissaries' year-round presence. Their authority and sway were evident throughout their *timars* (Ottoman fiefs). Their tenants, attached to the land, were entitled to enjoy the use of it, but were subject to challenging taxes imposed by the fief-holder and imperial purse. Resentment festered. Moslem and Christian peasants feared to question such arrangements openly and 'writhed under the oppression of fief-holders'.⁷³ Indeed local Ottoman authorities generally treated Moslem subjects with as much injustice as the infidel. Both were subject to the oppression of the ruling class, the endemic corruption within the administration and its impact on the material and physical well-being of their families. Occasionally, the Porte did apply the reins on local officials or fief-holders, generally a measure offering only temporary relief.⁷⁴

However, whilst each non-Moslem religious sect (Christian / Jewish) was treated as an autonomous unit where its own laws and customs were concerned, its members did not enjoy equal privileges with their Moslem neighbours, nor were they admitted as full citizens of the Ottoman state. The laws and regulations of the Ottoman *millet* always took precedence. Furthermore, most non-Moslems were subject to special taxes and a host of petty restrictions, all of them significant and highly visible symbols and reminders of Ottoman authority over the infidel. They included enforced restrictions in dress, proselytising, restrictions in building of new churches, and use of the Greek language in public under certain situations.⁷⁵ There were exceptions, as in the building of churches in the time and jurisdiction of Ali

⁷³ Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation, 1453-1669, The Cultural and Economic Background of Modern Greek Society*, trans. by Ian and Phania Moles, (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1976), p. 17.

⁷⁴ Vasdravellis, A' Archive of Thessaloniki 1695-1912, pp. 92-93, no. 76, K. 16, 222/223, (1709) and pp.94-95, no. 78, K. 16, 249.(1710).

⁷⁵ For example:

- The imperial *ferman* of 23rd May 1703 forbidding the wearing of 'coloured garments, yellow shoes, and furs of polecat astrakhan, and the like' quoted in Mertzios, *Μνημεία Μακεδονικής Ιστορίας* (Records of Macedonian History, p. 188.
- The prohibition of new churches in Ottoman lands and the regulations ruling the refurbishments of existing ones in 1728, quoted in Vasdravellis, B' Archive of Veria – Naoussa 1598-1886, pp.137-138, no. 161. However, there is no evidence suggesting that Greek communities were deprived of a place of worship.
- The general prohibition edict of 1709 and the capture of those accused for re-building instead of repairing the church of St. Nicholas in Thessaloniki in 1722, in Vasdravellis, A' Archive of Thessaloniki 1695-1912, pp. 88-89, no. 73, K. 16, 161 and p. 168, no. 130, K 32, 69.
- Proselytising and use of the Greek language medium in Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation*, p.29.

'Tepelenli' Pasha of Ioannina (1744-1822) or the wearing of certain kind of clothes in the island of Chios. Significantly, sexual relations with a Muslim woman could cost a *raya* (Christian / infidel) his life.⁷⁶

A singular element of the Ottoman administration of the Greek world was the institution of municipal government. This arrangement allowed the Greek community a degree of self-rule including initiatives for the health of the Orthodox flock. With the exception of *çifliks*, these arrangements included a village or town community and its lands where local government of the Orthodox was, by and large, in the hands of Greek notables. Such was the case in the island of Chios: In 1566 Chios fell to the Sultan and because of its lucrative trade in the aromatic mastic gum grown extensively in the island, it became a private appanage to the Sultan's family. The chief functions of Greek municipal government were, firstly, to carry out the demands of the Ottoman state in such matters as the collection of taxes, secondly, to manage affairs involving their co-religionists, and finally, to exercise limited judicial authority within their community in matters of arbitration, marriage contracts, and trading affairs. Yet many aspects of government and the social condition of the Orthodox communities were not uniform across the region. The shifts of time, political influence, and local conditions, had brought about wide variations in the status of the Orthodox subjects and their sense of freedom. As Finlay observed 'at Constantinople, the Greek was a crouching slave; at Bucharest and Yassi, a despotic tyrant; at Chios, a happy subject; and at Psara, and in the mount of Pelion, a free citizen'.⁷⁷ At the time when a distinguished group of Orthodox Greeks, occupied senior offices within the Sublime Porte and influenced the conduct of its foreign policy, many of their brethren were being put to the Ottoman sword as a result of failed insurrection in the province of the Morea.⁷⁸ Clearly, in an oppressive political world,

⁷⁶ Fritz Walther Sieber, *Travels in the Island of Crete in the year 1817* (London: Phillips & Co, 1828), p. 78.

⁷⁷ George Finlay, *A History of Greece, from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864*, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877), 6, p. 7.

⁷⁸ Ioannis Philimon, *Δοκίμιον Ἱστορικόν περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως* (Treatise on the Greek Revolution), 3 vols, (Athens: Karyophyllis, 1859), ii, p.5. For instance, Alexandros Ypsilantes, Grand Dragoman at the Sublime Porte and member of the Ottoman delegation negotiating the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji ending the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74.

personal experience of Ottoman rule amongst the Orthodox depended on time, place and circumstance.

Officials of the Orthodox *millet* itself were part of this dynamic society of Ottoman government in practice. Municipal government functionaries were Christian notables, chosen from among the local principal families, and known as *kocabaşıs*. Gradually, these clans established close alliances within the Orthodox hierarchy through family and other relationships. Some of them would impress favourably the European travellers to the region and, as 'the political soul of the nation', played a big part in the movement for national liberation.⁷⁹ According to Vacalopoulos, the process of choosing Christian *kocabaşıs* varied as much as their moral scruples for, in dispensing justice, they were neither 'incorruptible or without moral stain'.⁸⁰ For example, through their hands would pass almost all of the affairs of the Orthodox including responsibility for the health of the Greek community and tax collection by proxy on behalf of the Ottoman government, the latter a burden of service grasped with relish by some among their class.

Regularly, local Turkish administrators farmed out the tax dues of the Orthodox *millet*, a primary source of state, and private, income. Payments included the capitation tax (*cizye*), an obligation exclusive to the non-Muslims, land tax (*haraç*), property tax (*avârız*), Church tax, taxes on goods, weddings, and several other arbitrary cash-generating initiatives conceived by the powerful and the corrupt, Ottoman or Orthodox. Naturally, it was in their mutual interest not to interfere in each other's affairs for fear of loss of rake-offs, privilege, or office. European travellers' accounts make frequent references of their excesses some of which were reported to the Porte by despairing communities risking their overlord's ruthless retaliation.⁸¹ For some, appetite increased with the eating. Official corruption brought usury leading many of their debtors to further misery, incarceration or escape to foreign lands.⁸² Over time, these corrupt practices contaminated some of those in the

⁷⁹ Angelomatis – Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival, British travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth – Century Greece*, pp. 79-80.

Many such politicians' names were included in the secret membership list of Philiki Heteria (Society of Friends) formed to aid a Greek uprising, and subsequently revealed by Philimon, , i, appendix b, pp. 386-416.

⁸⁰ Vacalopoulos, *The Greek nation*, pp.191-192.

high office of the Orthodox Church and a small group of Greeks, the Fanariotes, who occupied positions of Grand *Dragoman* (Grand Interpreter) and *hospodar* (prince) in the court of the Sultan⁸³. Lord Acton's missive was rarely more fitting: absolute power did corrupt absolutely.

Of course, such generalisations do not acknowledge the respect and affection that many prelates and notables enjoyed within their communities. Nevertheless, obedience and deference to Moslem *Aga* or Orthodox *kocabaşı* were essential survival tools of the oppressed. In the polarised Greek world of the eighteenth century, the exercise of political authority granted by distinctions of race, religion, office and wealth was both immense and evident. In most of the Greek society of the peninsula and Aegean Sea, justice and compassion in time of misfortune were qualities more likely to be found inside the family, local community, and faith group.

What of the Orthodox religious response? It might be summed up as have courage to live with uncertainty, and trust the Church and your fellow Christians for care and support. As far as its own moral justification, the quote of John Zygomalas, 'Grand Rhetor' of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, carries particular resonance: 'with the pure you show yourself pure; and with the crooked you show yourself perverse'; a tacit acknowledgement of the Church's pivotal part in the life of the Orthodox community, and a remarkably practical approach to guide the spiritual and secular affairs of the congregation.⁸⁴

1.3 Collective experience

For the Arcadian herdsman... night only increases his anxieties,
he draws his family round a rustic fire, and endeavours to while

⁸¹ Angelomatis – Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival, British travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth – Century Greece*, pp.153-4, Vasdravellis, A' Archive of Thessaloniki 1695-1912, pp. 47-48, No. 40, K. 10,85, pp. 56-57, No. 47, K. 14,67, pp. 143-144, No.108, K. 30,78.

⁸² Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, ii, pp. 202-203, and Vasdravellis, A' Archive of Thessaloniki, 1695-1912, pp. 87-8, No. 72, K. 16, 147.

⁸³ For example, the Patriarch Cyril V 'incurring much expense (for protection against) the fabricators of treachery'. Cyril was deposed and replaced by Paisios, by now occupant of the Patriarchal throne for the fourth time. Quoted in 'Sergios Makraios – Ὑπομνήματα Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας 1750-1800' (Memoranda of ecclesiastical history 1750-1800), in *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη : Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi*, ed. by Konstantinos N. Sathas, 6 vols (Venice: Typis tou Chronou, 1872-77), iii, p. 206.

⁸⁴ Psalm 18.26, quoted in Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation*, p.30.

away the long and tedious evenings with recounting stories to them, in which the marvellous is always the leading feature; while the wife and children riveting their eyes upon him, listen eagerly, transfixed with terror... During this time the fishers of Messenia and Laconia shudder at the noise of the waves which break upon their shores, they are fretted at not being able to brave the element whence their principal subsistence is derived.

F. C. H. L. Pouqueville⁸⁵

many of the men obtain subsistence as agricultural labourers... [meat] consumption is much economised by the one hundred and fifty fast days of the Greek calendar.

William Martin Leake⁸⁶

Living

For most of the Greek society of the eighteenth century, life's experience was moulded by the calendar, both seasonal and religious. 'Time of the year' regulated 'task orientation' with crop, herd, land and sea forays and determined the community's life-rhythm. It was a lifestyle in forced harmony with the challenges of long winter nights, the exertions of gathering harvests, and the opportunities for wider social contact beyond the confines of the village through sea crossing or small talk with pilgrims, merchants, and others gathering in the local πανηγύρι (Religious festival combined with festivities and a commercial fair).

Time-keeping was determined by the onset of dawn and dusk, and the pace of life more by daylight than the precision and regularity of the clock movement. In a community where the timepiece was a rarity, and with bell-ringing restricted in the Ottoman lands, cockerel and *muezzin* were regulators of time and labour.⁸⁷ Week by week and month after month, the sound of the σήμαντρον (chime) and Moslem call to prayer combined the religious with the

⁸⁵ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey, comprehending a particular account of the Morea, Albania, &c.* (London: Colburn, 1820), p. 175.

⁸⁶ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii, p.72.

⁸⁷ In the Ottoman regions 'time' divided the day into two twelve hour periods so that sunset was always twelve o'clock. 'How many hours to sunset'? was the principal question by a labourer or a devout Moslem as, for the latter, afternoon's prayer is three hours before sunset. Quoted in Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, i, pp. 254-5; The great botanist and physician Joseph Pitton de Tournefort visited Greece in 1700 and refers to the use of σήμαντρον (chime) in order to bypass the Ottoman prohibition of bell-ringing: *Voyage into the Levant*, 3 vols (London: n. pub., 1741), i, pp. 122-123.

secular; clear symbols and ritual expressions of a religious community's social and mental make-up. Family attendance of daily necessities, social intercourse and labour were intermingled, but in the Greek world, the demarcation between living, working, and religion was somewhat blurred.⁸⁸

With most of the people depending for their livelihood on the countryside, the Greek experience was one of a primarily agrarian community. As H. Angelomatis-Tsougarakis shows, total population estimates vary and, depending on time and location, are subject to wide fluctuations. Nevertheless, the agrarian nature of the society is emphasized by a number of studies that set the urban population at a range of 14% - 18%.⁸⁹ In the four censuses undertaken in the period 1861-1907 after the formation of the new state, the percentage range of those engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fishery remained very high, showing 66.3% - 74.85%.⁹⁰ Noting the variance of population estimates, the data indicates:

Table 2. Town population estimates ca 1800 – All ethnic groups⁹¹

<u>Location</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Countryside</u>	<u>Total</u>
Island of Zante	14124 (42%)	19229 (58%)	33353
Island of Corfu	14418 (32%)	30581 (68%)	44999
Ioannina	30000	N/A	
Athens	10000	N/A	
Larissa	20000	N/A	
Tripolitza	15000	N/A	
Thessaloniki	65000	N/A	

In terms of village size, Vlassopoulos' census data of 1803 shows that the countryside population in the island of Corfu lived in ninety-nine village communities with an average population size of 310 persons each, which is close to Patrinelis' estimates for the average village size in the mainland at

⁸⁸ E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work- Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past & Present*, 38 (1967), 56-97 (p. 60); Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, & Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 43.

⁸⁹ Angelomatis – Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival, British travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth – Century Greece*, pp. 56-58.

⁹⁰ Dakin, *The Unification of Greece 1770-1923*, p. 314.

⁹¹ Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Citta ed Isola di Zante*, (Zante, 1811), p. 77; Vlassopoulos, 'Στατιστικά Ιστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra)', p. 28; Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, pp. 134, 266, 428; Mertzios, *Μνημεία Μακεδονικής Ιστορίας* (Records of Macedonian History, p. 205; Pouqueville, *Travels though the Morea*, p.25.

around 60 families per village with 293 people.⁹² At the turn of the eighteenth century, village life represented the core of Greek community living.

With daytime tasks complete, night-time distorted the boundaries between labour and sociability for the ordinary folk in town or country. Zantiot females spun yarn and Maniot mothers 'with their eyes fixed upon the cradles where lie their infants, gently rock them with their feet, while with their hands turn their spindle'.⁹³ Thus fashioned by the harshness and uncertainties of their situation and obliged by economic interdependence, loyalty to the family and faith-group became axiomatic amongst the Greeks.

Noticeably, the Orthodox Greeks celebrated name days rather than birthdays. In this connection, Laurie Kain Hart suggests that a birthday emphasizes the biological and social uniqueness whereas a name day is a familial, community, and religious affair.⁹⁴ It was a celebration as much for the person, as his / her shared ancestry, after whom he / she was usually named and, significantly, the Orthodox Church whose Saint it honours. In the process, individualism, in the context of behaviour that is contrary to the expected norms of family and community, was frowned upon and strongly discouraged. Community precepts took precedence over an individual's emotional and social behaviour. The threat of alienation from kinfolk and church was ever present and, in a hostile world, shaped one's choices in times of therapeutic assistance.

In the pre-industrial setting of the Greek world, nightfall and the ensuing darkness brought forth associations with 'the sinister'; a sense of malign influences and portents that was not unique to Pouqueville's Arcadian peasants:

At night, do not get near these palace ruins, they are
occupied by demons..., the miserly worry about thieves
and those of fanciful imagination about spirits.
Such beliefs are favoured by Greek philosophy,

⁹² Vlassopoulos, 'Στατιστικά Ίστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra)', pp. 29-33; Angelomatis – Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival, British travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth – Century Greece*, p. 58.

⁹³ See Table 1, section 1.1: The Social Order – Venetian Rule; Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 105.

⁹⁴ Laurie Kain Hart, *Time, Religion, and Social Experience in Rural Greece* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1992), pp. 171-173.

not condemned by the Church, yet, do not cause
 harm to a simple and spiritual people....
 Can you hear the roar of the wind in the wood?
 It is the spirit of an evil dead man... from the two paths
 to the water mill take the one on the left of the stream
 and avoid the other. A murder took place there and it is
 where the ghost of the murderer appears.⁹⁵

Much to Baron E. Theotokis' regret, such beliefs did not vanish during the day but continued to kindle the Corfiots' imagination with shocking images (*images odieuses*).⁹⁶ In the minds of the community the world of the living and the dead were intermingled. The Orthodox flock were spiritual people indeed and their spirituality the result of their old traditions, faith, and richness of religious worship where 'the world of the senses mirrored the world of the spirit'.⁹⁷

For the pastoral and isolated majority, a distinctive form of social life was fashioned around the village and ethnic group, under the gaze of the local notable and Orthodox cleric, and a world away from the intellectual pursuits of the elite. Beneath the seemingly peaceful bucolic scene, this was a Greek world deficient in scientific advance, but rich in hard work, resentment, and fear. (Illustration 3) The view is from a contemporary painting of the village of Nikali in Thessaly. A number of household implements are delineated in the foreground. The solid wheels which are attached to the cart are the *tympa* of the ancients.⁹⁸ In a century of great European improvements in food productivity, introduction of scientific farming methods, and building of roads and canals, this was an agrarian society making use of old-fashioned farming tools that would not seem out of place in Byzantium. 'The lack of emulation, poverty, the servitude of centuries, and the calamities that accompany them, have left their spirit without resort' was Theotokis' penetrating remark on the

⁹⁵ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, p. 55.

⁹⁶ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, p. 55.

⁹⁷ Gervase Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London: Murray, 1963), p. 81.

⁹⁸ A solid wheel without spokes for heavy waggons, (Virg. *Georg.* iv.444); William Smith, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: J Murray, 1875), <<http://penelope.uchicago.edu>> [accessed 5 February 2006].



cultural state of Corfu's country folk.⁹⁹ Spiritual and physical comfort and reassurance was afforded by the community's familial and self-contained character, strong sense of kinship, Orthodox faith-group allegiance, and need for mutual support, qualities that made it possible for the village to cope with the challenges of their situation in times of crisis be they threats of violence, death, birth, food shortage or illness.

Many of the skills for survival were transmitted from generation to generation and included the expertise of midwifery, the use of herbs and remedies to relieve pain or cure, and the rich tradition of songs, proverbs and aphorisms to guide community conduct: 'Do good and cast it on the sea' gave counsel to those doing good deeds not to become embittered by ungrateful recipients, and 'he that would have the rose must take the thorns' was a useful precept for suffering with patience.¹⁰⁰

Most of the responsibility for the affairs of the family fell within the remit of women. From early age, they were occupied with the obligations of housework, raising children, earning a living through handicraft and, in most cases, accepting responsibility for looking after relatives and caring for expectant mothers and the sick within their community.

The lot of the female sex is commonly hard; and I fear
this remark holds true, at least, of the inferior class in
these islands. They are subjected to much domestic
drudgery; in some parts... not only to convey water...
but also to collect wood

observed the physician John Davy.¹⁰¹ Disparity between the sexes extended to lack of education and constraints on female public conduct. European travellers and others pointed to the preference for male offspring, the strictness of supervision on unmarried females, seclusion from society and, significantly, restrictions of entry to a church whilst 'in menses' or after giving

⁹⁹ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁰ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, p. 49; Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 105. Also, Herzfeld, *Ours Once More* pp. 11-13, and the vast corpus of the Folklore Research Institute of the Academy of Athens.

¹⁰¹ John Davy, *Notes and observations on the Ionian Islands and Malta*, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder, 1842), ii, p.141.

birth.¹⁰² Yet, their responsibilities of feeding the family, in times of fasting and feasting, tending the needy or healing the sick, gave expression to their role as servants to the community. These were aspects of life with religious undertones bringing them closer to the Church and bestowing a degree of authority which was the usual preserve of the local cleric.¹⁰³ Unequal treatment of the female sex in the Greek world of the eighteenth century is indisputable and the reasons multifaceted and convoluted.¹⁰⁴ Despite her isolated, confined, and intrusive community, however, the Greek woman occupied a highly visible social place as a key actor in village life, neighbourly contact, birth and death, in sickness and in health, church and celebration, in dance and song.

The Greeks never assemble together in society
without dancing. This exercise is the great
amusement of persons of all ages; it forms a part
of all public festivals. And in the days consecrated
to religion, it assists in dissipating the gloom
occasioned by their state of slavery.¹⁰⁵

Central to Greek society's pleasures were key events in one's life such as christenings, name days, marriages, celebrations associated with pagan and quasi-religious festivities, religious holidays, fairs, and the *πανηγύρια*, an institution combining Orthodox religious ceremony with recreation and commerce. *Πανηγύρια* were events associated with a Saint's feast day and accompanied by fairs lasting for longer periods and offering the chance to revel, trade, and access the services not usually available in the restrictive environment of the local society.¹⁰⁶ They were noisy events where animal

¹⁰² Simopoulos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα*, (Foreign Travellers to Greece), ii, p. 752; Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Citta ed Isola di Zante*, (Zante, 1811), p. 66; Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, pp. 153-156; Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, 3 vols (London: n. pub., 1741), i i, p. 122; Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 134.

¹⁰³ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast; The religious significance of food to medieval women* (London: University of California Press, 1987), p. 227.

¹⁰⁴ For in depth discussion on this subject in a modern context see Kain Hart, *Time, Religion, and Social Experience in Rural Greece*, pp. 147-169.

¹⁰⁵ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, pp. 137-138.

¹⁰⁶ Spyros Vryonis Jr, 'The Panegyris of the Byzantine Saint: a study in the nature of a medieval institution, its origins and fate', in *The Byzantine Saint – University of Birmingham*,

stock was traded, goods of every kind bargained, athletic and dance displays praised, treatment of every ailment paraded, and where both sexes sought would-be partners free from prying eyes.

In a show of puritanical attitudes and class distinction typifying the Venetian regime, some of the high and mighty of the Ionian islands were not entirely in favour of this popular form of entertainment, considering it a 'remnant of pagan barbarism'.¹⁰⁷ This was a further sign of P. Mercati's polarised society perhaps, as entertainment pursuits became cultural expressions appropriate to one's material and psychological situation. Like religious devotion, *πανηγύρια* were essential elements of the Greek 'collective experience' for, as Pouqueville observed, 'it is then that the people, forgetting for an instant their misfortunes, are restored to the natural liveliness of their character'.¹⁰⁸

Overarching the seasons, the Orthodox ecclesiastical year defined and absorbed the peoples' affairs with festivals and ritual, Sunday after Sunday. The month of September saw the start of the Orthodox ecclesiastical year. Based on the Julian calendar and Byzantine practice, it punctuated the seasons with a great number of religious festivals. The greatest feast among them, Easter, was accompanied by the 'twelve great feasts' and a large number of other church events of varying significance commemorating the lives of Christ and the other holy men and women of the Eastern Church.

Feasts were preceded by fasts in abundance. The great fast of Lent lasted seven weeks, the fast of the Apostles varied in length between one and six weeks, the Assumption demanded two weeks, and Christmas stipulated forty days. In addition, a host of other holy days were subject to fasting. Naturally, it impacted on the physical condition of the people and their resistance to disease. The hold of fasting upon the Orthodox flock was extraordinary. Canon 69 of the Holy Apostles determined that, unless hindered by illness, Church officials who did not fast during Lent risked their

Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, ed. by Sergei Hackel (London: The Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1981), 196-227 (p. 219).

¹⁰⁷ Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Città ed Isola di Zante*, (Zante, 1811), p. 66.

¹⁰⁸ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 135.

vocation and laymen excommunication.¹⁰⁹ The Canon also suggested that clerics should seek advice from an 'experienced and God-fearing doctor' for anyone claiming sickness as an excuse for discontinuing their fast; a facility not always easily at hand to those in the countryside and a service requirement outside the usual boundaries of the medical profession. Whilst dispensations were granted, strict observance was expected in a spirit of 'true abstemiousness and piety, like a self-disciplined athlete'.¹¹⁰ Given the high degree of adherence by the congregation, Church authority of a spiritual and temporal kind over its members was irresistible.

The communal sharing of the 'Orthodox experience' and its powerful impact on the faithful reached further intensity through their local church. Firstly, in its distinctive external architecture and omnipresence, it manifested its symbolic, exclusive and elevated place over the spiritual affairs of the Greek *millet*.¹¹¹ Secondly, it was experienced in the 'otherworldly' sensations lived through the Orthodox service inside the church. The interplay of the liturgy with the poetry of the canons, wall-to-wall religious imagery, icons touched and kissed, and the smell of incense to exorcise evil spirits, engendered a powerful emotional link between the physical and the aesthetic, the earthly and the spiritual.

This relationship extended into the community's home life. In the language of the icons the faithful connected with the symbols of the 'Lamb' and the Good 'Shepherd', the 'Fishers of men' and of the sign of the Cross in plough and anchor. Physical images of God occupied a revered place inside the homes of the congregation.¹¹² The Seventh Ecumenical Council, Second Council of Nicaea in 787, decreed that 'Christians not may, but must make,

¹⁰⁹ *Πηδάλιον* (Rudder), 12th edn (Athens: Papadimitriou, 1998), pp. 91-96. First published in Leipzig in 1800, the Rudder contains the Holy Canons of the Orthodox Church. Until that time, only sections of canon law were available, printed from manuscripts with commentaries from the great church theologians such as Valsamon, Zonaras and others. Occasionally the practice 'led to disagreements making the work of the clergy difficult'. Around 1790, St Nikodemos of Mount Athos undertook to combine the canons with commentaries into one volume. His work entitled *Πηδάλιον* (Rudder) was formally approved by the Patriarch in 1802. An English version by D. Cummings was published in 1957.

¹¹⁰ The Holy Hieronimos, in *Πηδάλιον*, (Rudder) Canon χδ (2), p.82.

¹¹¹ Foucault: *Power and Knowledge*, pp. 148-149.

¹¹² Guys, *A Sentimental Journey through Greece in a series of letters written from Constantinople*, i, p. 37.

use, and venerate icons in their churches, homes, and streets'.¹¹³ Daily rituals involved the ministrations to icons at home, replenishment of the oil lamp, and prayer to the icons by the faithful. As John of Damascus put it, 'the icon is a song of triumph, a revelation, an enduring monument to the victory of the saints, and the disgrace of the demons'.¹¹⁴ For the Greek community the icon was not merely a portrait but the presence of a redeeming divine power in times of anxiety and relief from misfortune.

Church power was also evident in the legal and moral authority it applied through the local clergy. In its role as the local judicial power or in times of contagion, the Church applied excommunication as a form of threat or punishment against those among its congregation who might consider disobeying the anti-contagion measures introduced by the authorities. Notwithstanding the authority of the confessional and the pulpit, the Church encouraged the notion that any dispute between members of the flock was the unwelcome ending of the combat between man and the demonic, the work of the Devil whose intention was to set off hatred between Christians.¹¹⁵ In the Ionian Islands, for a fee, individuals could succeed in bringing about action and the potential excommunication of their neighbours. The priests dressed in black, carrying black candles and an icon of Christ's Crucifixion, would arrive at the appropriate location, usually the town or village square, sometimes with the mournful toll of church bells. Public reading of the case was followed by the officiating priest who delivered the curse of the Church upon the accused. The thousands of excommunication papers in the Historical Archive of Corfu illustrate its routine use by the clergy in the region. In the process, the Church re-enforced its authority and fostered demonic beliefs into the flock's psychological make-up.

The accounts of travellers to the region, the writings of early church fathers such as Ioannis Chrysostomos, Orthodox Canon Law, as well as the

¹¹³ Eric Perl, "'... That Man Might Become God". Central Themes in Byzantine Theology', in *Heaven on Earth, Art and the Church in Byzantium*, ed. by Linda Safran (Washington: Pennsylvania State UP, 1998), pp.39-57 (p. 45).

¹¹⁴ 'On Icons, ii, ii (P.G. xciv, 1296B)' quoted in Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 42.

¹¹⁵ Demetrios C. Kapadochos, 'Η απονομή της δικαιοσύνης στην Κέρκυρα απο τους μεγάλους πρωτοπαπάδες την ενετική περίοδο (1604-1797)' (The dispensation of justice in Kerkyra by the High Protopriests during the period of Venetian rule (1604-1797), (unpublished doctoral thesis, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 1990), p. 162.

works of Byzantine and folklore scholars, provide ample evidence of the existence and transmission of 'superstitious' beliefs and magical practices within the Greek community well into the early modern era.¹¹⁶ They nurtured obscurantism and superstition, creating a society over which forces inaccessible to rational understanding held sway. Such deep-rooted popular beliefs were frequently reported by travellers to the region in the eighteenth century and, as we will see, their impact on matters of disease and therapy amongst the locals was considerable. From his familiar world, the litterateur and educationalist Spyridon Vlantis attests to their influence over the Greek community: *Popular Physics for the Discontinuance of Superstition* was published in an effort to 'enlighten the minds and thereby overthrow the despotism of superstition which is the plague of humanity'.¹¹⁷

Learning

Similar efforts to influence Greek culture through educational improvement became increasingly evident in the last third of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Until then, with some notable exceptions, education among the community was provided by Orthodox priests and monks or a few educated locals, sometimes on a fee-paying basis, and limited to learning reading, writing, and the 'holy letters'. (Illustration 4) 'Deprived in teaching but privileged in caning' reflected the doyen of intellectual revival Adamantios Korais in his autobiography.¹¹⁸ The Book of Psalms, Saints's Lives, and other church books provided the main reading matter and

¹¹⁶ The word 'superstition' used as a matter of report as in Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 130; See Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons, The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999), pp. 472- 488; also Πηδάλιον (Rudder), p.272; S. P. Kyriakides, "Ιωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος ὡς Λαογράφος" (John Chrysostom as a writer on Folklore), *Laografia*, Vol. 11 (1934-37), 634-641; Dimitrios. S. Loukatos, *Εἰσαγωγή στήν Ἑλληνική Λαογραφία* (Introduction to Greek Folklore), (Athens: MIET, 1985), pp. 240-250; Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καί Πολιτισμός* (Byzantine Life and Civilisation), vi, pp. 167-261.

¹¹⁷ *Φυσική Δημώδης εἰς Παύσιν τῆς Δεισιδαιμονίας* (Popular Physics for the Discontinuance of Superstition), ed. by Spyridon Vlantis (Venice: N. Glykis, 1810), p. 7. Vlantis was born in Venice but of Kytheran descent, a student of Latin, Greek, mathematics, law, and philosophy, headmaster of the renowned Flaggineion School of Venice and publisher and promoter of Greek education (1765-1830).

¹¹⁸ Quoted in Evagelidis, *Ἡ Παιδεία ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας* (Education under Turkish Rule), i, p. LXXVIII.

frequently featured in the written contracts between parents and tutors.¹¹⁹ In the process, the Church inculcated existing church traditions, long-held beliefs and attitudes, provided a link with the past, and bolstered the flock's affinity with their common Byzantine cradle. Most significantly however, through its local teaching agencies and instruments, the Church strengthened its power-base as the primary source of knowledge by the majority of the Orthodox community. 'All Saints help me learn the divine words' and 'My Lord God, guide of true wisdom and good sense enlighten me' were the opening lines for student prayers of the period.¹²⁰

Concurrently, a small number of schools served the needs of notables, high officials, merchants, and others offering children 'higher' education. Few in numbers, they included the renowned schools of Athonias, and the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople. One such school in the Venetian territory was that of Vicentios Damodos (1700-1752), a student of the Flagginieion School in Venice and Doctor of Law from the University of Padua. Soon after his return to Cephalonia in 1721, Damodos taught two generations of students a range of subjects including ethical philosophy and logic. Initially, his textbooks were accessible only to a small number of students but became very popular after his death.¹²¹ Many of his students progressed with further studies in Italian Universities. Nevertheless, the educational system at large reflected its elitist nature. In 1759, *Provveditore* Alberto Magno offered '*estrema ignoranza*' as the cause of most of the ills associated with Kefalonian society and pointed to the local ruling elite as the party responsible for the lamentable level of education among the people.¹²² For the Ionian Islands at least, it was not until the signal changes of regime in the early nineteenth century that social, political and institutional changes would bring about educational reforms and emancipation. Typically, the Collegio Medico and the

¹¹⁹ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, pp. 53-54; Gerasimos H. Pentogalos, 'Κεφαλληνιακά Έγγραφα Παροχής Στοιχειώδους Έκπαιδεύσεως επί Βενετοκρατίας', (Kefalinian Documents on the Provision of Elementary Education during the Venetian Rule), reprint from *Parnassos*, 14. 2 (1972), 285-297.

¹²⁰ Evagelidis, *Η Παιδεία επί Τουρκοκρατίας* (Education under Turkish Rule), i, pp. LXXV-LXXVI.

¹²¹ Kitromilidis, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* (Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment), p. 52.

¹²² Quoted in G.N. Moschopoulos, 'Στοιχεία της οικονομικής, πνευματικής και ήθικης καταστάσεως στήν Κεφαλονιά ...)' (Evidence of the economic, intellectual and moral condition in Kefalonia), *Parnassos*, 16.2 (1974), 209-220 (p.212-215).

Ionian Academy in Corfu were established after the departure of the Venetians. Orthodox subjects had no access to a medical school education along Western lines within the Ottoman Empire.

In 1774, the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji, signed at the end of the Russo-Turkish war between Catherine II of Russia and Sultan Mustafa III, provided a great stimulus and step change in cultural awareness between the Greek world and Europe, and a critical turning point in the movement for Greek Enlightenment.¹²³ Encouraged by advantageous trading conditions, entrepreneurial Greek merchants established a network of lucrative trade links across mainland Europe by the end of the century. Many of them supported materially the publication of books beyond those studied under the aegis of the Orthodox Church. Furthermore, they offered European contacts and a vibrant intellectual environment for Greek scholars to access the ideas of European Enlightenment, Science, the French Revolution and, significantly, the wider aspects of ancient Greek civilisation much admired and studied by contemporary Europe.

Of the one hundred and seven books published in the Greek language in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, eighty were of a religious nature, ten were on the subject of 'Grammar', and seventeen of a secular kind.¹²⁴ This compared with seven hundred and forty nine books in the last quarter of the century, of which three hundred and ninety five were of a religious nature, one hundred and four related to the subject of 'Grammar' and, significantly, two hundred and fifty were of a secular kind.

In the Ottoman provinces, Greek intellectuals, merchants, and philhellenic circles of the diaspora provided the stimulus and resources for the establishment of a few new schools inspired by their European experience. Such centres of intellectual rebirth were increasingly in evidence during the period prior to the revolution of 1821. Despite the intense academic debate of that period, however, the main proponents for change were limited in number and for the most part lived outside the Greek world, hampered by the Ottoman

¹²³ Kitromilidis, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* (Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment) p. 76; In the matter of Greek Enlightenment see also Demaras, Henderson, Kondylis, and Wolff.

¹²⁴ Catherine Koumarianou, 'The contribution of the Intelligentsia towards the Greek Independence Movement, 1798-1821', in *The Struggle for Greek Independence*, ed. Richard Clogg (London: Macmillan, 1973) pp. 67-86.

threat and frequently subject to the conservative reaction of the Orthodox Church.¹²⁵

Since the fall of Constantinople, besides the dominance of Orthodox precepts and points of reference, a further key element in the transmission and continuity of the Byzantine cultural heritage had been the Greek language. Whether in its demotic form or that of the bible, the Greek language was the primary vehicle of expressing the Orthodox 'ideology of life'. Helene Ahrweiler underlines its special relationship with the Orthodox faith pointing to the use of the word *Μαρτύριον* (*martyrion*) for both 'soundness of testimony' and 'suffering for the true faith'.¹²⁶ Unlike earlier times, when as a *lingua franca* it served the diverse and cosmopolitan subjects of the Roman empire, in the post Byzantine insulated world of the Orthodox *millet*, the Greek language was held as the treasured possession of the Greek 'poets, philosophers and sages' much admired by Pierre Augustine Guys. As in earlier times, it became the primary vehicle of oral tradition and the transmission of Byzantine and medical knowledge to the community at large.

1.4 Conclusions

In the context of the prevailing social order and its conditioning influence on the established institutions and by implication the physical condition of eighteenth century Greek society, three key aspects of stand out:

Firstly, the Greek world – under both Venetian and Ottoman rule – was highly polarised and presided over by an oligarchy which derived its authority from 'the centre'. Furthermore, whilst the Venetian Senate and Sultan had a firm grip and monopoly of political authority, the ruling establishment on the ground was connected through relationships of mutual support and, to quote Foucault, 'in mutual engagement through tactics invented and organised from the starting points of local conditions and needs'.¹²⁷ Undoubtedly, for many Greek notables and prelates this was a 'forced marriage' that had to be endured in the absence of a more congenial alternative. Such level-

¹²⁵ Richard Clogg, 'Elite and Popular Culture in Greece under Turkish Rule', in *Hellenic Perspectives: Essays in The History of Greece*, ed. John T. A. Koumoulides (Lanham: University Press of America, 1980), pp.107-143 (p. 131).

¹²⁶ Helene Ahrweiler, 'The Hellenic Europe: Problems of Greek Continuity' in <<http://www.myriobiblos.gr>> [accessed 30 December 2005].

headedness proved particularly useful in helping some privileged grandees to maintain this much prized state of affairs. Occasionally, for some foreign and Greek observers, it became noticeable that they were 'as insolent and unfeeling to their inferiors as they were malignantly jealous of one another'.¹²⁸

Secondly, it was a society of extremes, where wealth and a comfortable standard of living were in the hands of the few and the threat of violence an uncomfortable reality for the many. The Greek world of the eighteenth century was not an easy-going society. Resentment and resistance surfaced through pamphlets, oral transmission, in piecemeal fashion, and organised insurrection. Force, legal, fiscal or physical, was applied to restore any signs of civil discord. Significantly, Ottoman government made 'everyone feel danger in displaying his wealth, and rendered property and life insecure even to its most favoured subjects'.¹²⁹ Thus, with the exception of the Church and those creating and holding their wealth in secret or in the West, conspicuous prosperity and initiatives for the mitigation of social ills invited envy, displeasure and personal risk. It is possible that such circumstances might have hampered individual or corporate endeavours to improve the health lives of local Greek communities. Moreover, eighteenth-century living conditions for the lower Moslem orders were not much better to those of the infidel. Manifestly, the prevailing social order was ill-equipped politically, morally, and materially to turn its attention to social medicine and public health provision.

Thirdly, the Orthodox Church occupied a pivotal place in the secular and spiritual affairs of the Greek community. It played a principal part in the administration of the civic affairs of the Greek world and the preservation of the existing social order albeit always submitting itself to the higher authority of the Venetian Senate and the Sultan.¹³⁰ Soon after the fall of Constantinople, it acquired a number of key strengths that enabled it to

¹²⁷ Michel Foucault: *Power and Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. by Colin Gordon, (Brighton: Spiers and Boden, 1980), p. 159.

¹²⁸ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, ii, p. 204; Adamantios Korais, "Υπόμνημα περὶ τῆς παρούσης καταστάσεως τοῦ πολιτισμοῦ ἐν Ἑλλάδι" (Memorandum on the present condition of civilisation in Greece) in Therianos, iii, pp. μζ'-πβ' (p. v')

¹²⁹ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii, p. 249.

¹³⁰ The Paternal Exhortation (*Διδασκαλία Πατρική*), allegedly written by the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1798, urged the Orthodox community not to challenge the established order because the Ottoman Empire had been raised by Divine Will to protect Orthodoxy from the heretical West. See Richard Clogg, 'The Didaskalia Patriki (1798): An Orthodox Reaction to French Revolutionary Propaganda', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 5 (1969), 87-115.

consolidate its high 'share of voice' over the Orthodox faithful. Besides the legal authority invested upon it by the ruling power, its omnipresence, organisational structure, closeness to its congregation and lack of opposition gave it particular potency and made the emergence of any counter movement for the minds and souls of the Orthodox folk outside learned circles particularly challenging.

Whilst some aspects of its hegemony over the faithful were to be challenged by some among the Greek intelligentsia, almost all such debates accepted its principal position within the Orthodox community. Historians have suggested, with some justification, that its primary motives were the protection of its flock from unjust government, Catholic propaganda and the conservation of its teleological message rather than the ephemeral, irrelevant and atheistic ideas of the West. On the other hand, one could argue, the Church has to accept that responsibility is an unavoidable consequence of its partial authority over the lives of the Orthodox. These include intellectual as well as practical aspects of medicine as, for example, its philosophical position on the causes and cures of disease or its part in humanitarian and social health initiatives.

The years that preceded the Greek rising of 1821 had particular significance for the Greek world. The prolonged decline and ultimate departure of the Serenissima from her Ionian dependencies in 1797, the costly Greek uprising of the Morea, and the Porte's ever-increasing and capricious demands to support the wages of administration and war continued to concern and challenge the material and emotional well-being of the majority. Most of the people experienced a socially and materially intimidating existence where the whims of nature and landlord held sway. Resigned to their situation, people sought comfort in their simple rustic lifestyle and a degree of security among their family, faith-group and church. The nature of the available therapeutic services to the community reflected their society and circumstances at the time. In their relative isolation, excluding those among the learned elite, they remained relatively untouched by the great European movements of Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment.

Nevertheless, this was a period when new political and trading initiatives brought about a resurgence of intellectual vigour in the Greek world.

Unencumbered by the restraints of Orthodox Church dogma and the Porte, the nascent intelligentsia of the diaspora imagined a future Greek society model much different to that experienced at 'home'. 'He who thinks freely thinks well', reflected the intellectual and revolutionary Rigas Velenstinlis from Vienna.¹³¹ Their aspirations would come to fruition with the formation of the new state in 1832. Until then, most debates were confined to an elite group many of whom resided in or had easy access to the West, the Fanariots and Orthodox Church intellectuals. For the majority, the denial of a free civic life had reduced the scope and motivation of active citizenship. For most of the notables in the Ottoman area in particular, the aspirations associated with high public office were reduced to formalities and dulled of vigour and stimulus. Altogether, this was not a suitable time or fertile environment to take responsibility for meaningful changes in local government or initiatives in social improvement.

For the bulk of the Greek people, 'collective experience' continued as it had done for centuries with Orthodox religion, a common language, customs and blood ties binding them closely while setting them apart from Latin and Ottoman. Donald Nicol suggests that the Orthodox Church preserved 'Byzantinism' – 'a sense of belonging to a theocratic society'.¹³² The Greek world was indeed a society of worshippers. Their relationship with the Church was long, vigorous, and intimate but it is doubtful whether many of the infidel *rayas* had an experience of life in the 'reformed' West against which they could contextualise their societal values. As significant, the deeply spiritual experience of the Orthodox faith and worship engendered an ideology of life where the 'otherworldly' was all-pervading and actively involved in human affairs, medical or otherwise. 'Cast out unclean spirits and heal all manner of sickness' read Matthew 10:1. For the Greeks, the world of spirits was a fact of life. The Byzantine inheritance extended beyond the spiritual to a secular dimension. Throughout the four centuries of Venetian and Ottoman rule, Orthodox beliefs sustained and guided the Greek community in its relationship with the physical world.

¹³¹ Rigas Velenstinlis, *Φυσικῆς Ἀπάνθισμα* (Anthology of Physics) (Vienna: Trattner, 1790), p.24.

¹³² Donald M. Nicol, *Church and Society in the last centuries of Byzantium*, (New York: Cambridge UP, 1979), p. 130.

Health in society is closely interwoven with its social, economic and political cultures including the 'psychological orientations' of the actors involved in a political situation.¹³³ Greek society was shaped by Venetian, Ottoman and Orthodox forces. In the eighteenth century Greek medical institutions, whether places, organisations, or modes of behaviour, evolved in ways that reflected such heritage, influence and tradition. These are the subjects that will be examined in the chapters that follow.

¹³³ Daniel M. Fox, 'Medical Institutions and the State' in *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, ed. by W. W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1997), ii, 1204-1230 (p. 1206).

2. The Medical Landscape

Firstly, a complete lack of care for their own health and the health of their children, secondly the great number of trees preventing the penetration of air which during the summer becomes contaminated and unhygienic, and thirdly the polluted air of the marshes. This is why infants, the young, and the adult in the countryside die and few reach old age... They should be persuaded to be industrious [εργατικοί] to avoid all intemperance and every bad habit and especially that most harmful of sleeping outside in the countryside during the summer, from which they loose their teeth and catch the quartan fever.

S. Vlassopoulos¹³⁴

The men are better looking, and are a strong, healthy, and active race. An old man of Solos, whom I take as a guide, walks so fast that my horse can hardly keep pace with him...has lived for the last month, being Lent, upon scarcely any thing but bread and onions.

W. Leake¹³⁵

In his capacity of sometime health official (*Provveditore alla Sanità*) and member of the Ionian Academy in Corfu, Vlassopoulos was well placed to comment on the state of health in the island of Corfu. According to him and, one assumes, the prevailing local medical opinion, there was a high mortality rate among the people living in the countryside of Corfu. Furthermore, it was thought to be caused primarily by the local physical conditions and personal lack of care on the part of the afflicted. In contrast, the British officer W. Leake is quite effusive in his praises for the Greek male folk of Megaspilio in the Ottoman ruled Morea. Unlike their Corfiot counterparts, they are active, strong, and healthy and apparently capable of withstanding the demands of religious fasting for a long period. Yet, while passing the area of Paleopoli Leake observes that the harshness of living conditions makes 'all women look

¹³⁴ Vlassopoulos, Στατιστικά Ιστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), p.37.

¹³⁵ W.M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, 3 vols (London: Murray, 1830), iii, p. 173.

old at thirty and the men bear want and hard labour better; but though strong, they have a wrinkled weather-beaten countenance before they are fully grown'.¹³⁶ In Vlassopoulos' otherwise extensive remarks on Corfiot society there is little to suggest an acknowledgement of social determinants of mortality and morbidity such as nutrition, and the role of the state. Was he insensitive to the harshness of the situation of countryside folk? Certainly his acquaintance Baron Theotokis was familiar with the issue:

the life of a peasant has little worth (*que la vie d'un agriculteur coute très peu*)... there are grave reasons for their sordid poverty. We do not wish to believe what follows: there are tenant farmers obliged to pay 1/10th of their annual produce to the 'original owner' of the land, after which 3 or 4/10^{ths} plus a land tax to the current owner, plus an annual 'thanks' in chicken and turkeys. In addition, it often happens, that the land is subject to a usufruct tax to the benefit of the speculator who has provided deposits 'in lieu' during non-productive years...¹³⁷

Such diverse comments elicited from traveller accounts, the diaries of Greek personalities of the period, and the scarce and partial data at our disposal suggest caution in setting out to describe the health lives of the community. Hence, the primary aims of this chapter will be to (a) offer a general portrayal of the state of health in Greek society against which to compare and contrast its medical practices and (b) to identify some of the principal factors that determined the health, vitality, and resistance to infection of Greek people. At this juncture it is important to keep in mind the social context of the population whose medical behaviour we set out to investigate – its history, economy, political institutions, and cultural values. Not from the point of 'heroes-and-villains' but in appreciation that for Greek, Jew or Moslem, town or country dweller, social conditions and the role of the state had a part in influencing their physical wellbeing.

¹³⁶ Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i, p.102.

¹³⁷ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, p. 44.

2.1 Population Profile

As Angelomatis-Tsougarakis has identified, the relevant studies concerned with ascertaining the size of the Greek Orthodox population in the period are on the whole tentative as the existing sources disagree and are generally considered unreliable.¹³⁸ For our purposes it is sufficient to set population size in our region including the islands at approximately two million with a significant majority living in the countryside.¹³⁹ Further, to illuminate a generally obscure picture, Count Paolo Mercati's report of 1811 concerning the island of Zante in the Ionian Islands, and the Venetian census of 1719 and 1780 from the town of Preveza allow us to extrapolate some aspects of its demographic profile.¹⁴⁰

In September 1811 Count Paolo Mercati submitted the *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Citta ed Isola di Zante* (Historical and Statistical Treatise of the Town and Island of Zante) which, until recently, had formed a major part of the Ionian Island Venetian territory. Written in Italian, the work was dedicated to Sir John Stewart, Commander of the British forces, 'liberator of (Mercati's) homeland'. The town of Preveza, under Venetian rule for much of the eighteenth century, is located in the southernmost area of Epirus in the north-western part of the mainland. In the eighteenth century it grew in population as a result of migration, increased commercial timber trade, and shipbuilding. The concise but germane information for Zante and Preveza afford some important insights into contemporary Greek community.

Importantly, one needs to treat even this data with caution. The assiduity with which census officials carried out their tasks particularly in poor households and those located in the countryside is one reason, as is the inability of poor folk to tell their age. What gives us comfort is the fact that Mercati had been the island treasurer for a long period, through his management of community tax obligations was well informed of household details, and therefore was especially familiar with his island's social and economic facts. Furthermore, a substantial number of Zante's poorer

¹³⁸ Angelomatis – Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival, British travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth – Century Greece*, p. 56-58.

¹³⁹ Dakin, *The Unification of Greece 1770-1923*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Citta ed Isola di Zante*, (Zante, 1811), pp. 77-82; Kostas Komis, 'Demographic aspects of the Greek household: The case of Preveza (18th century)', *History of the Family*, 9 (2004), 287-298.

population migrated seasonally to the mainland in search of work during harvest time. They all needed proper papers for departure and entry, and given the Serenissima's strict quarantine policy, it was to the advantage of these travellers to comply with the regulations in order to return to their homes. Mercati had access to a variety of sources in constructing his demographic data. In the case of Preveza, the three factors that give comfort as to the relative accuracy of the data are (a) the fact that it was a Venetian census carried out by officials following an established procedure (b) the relatively small number of residents made access to household information much easier than that of a larger town, and (c) the detailed nature of household profile data suggests a thorough demographic undertaking.

Table 3. Household size comparisons for the island of Zante and Preveza*

Location	Mean size of indigenous household
Zante town (1811)	3.98
Zante countryside* (1811)	3.95
Preveza town (1780)	4.47
Preveza town (1719)	4.24

*Nb. I use Mercati's 'countryside private homes' figure rather than that relating to 'dispersed houses'.

The average size of individuals per household with a range of 3.95 – 4.47 is typical of other findings on this subject.¹⁴¹ The figures include all individuals not just members of a family but servants and other folk sharing the home. Regrettably, Mercati's figures lack the detail of the Preveza census from where we learn that the number of households with five or more members in 1719 stood at 45%, but, as the frequency of households with 'two persons or less' is quite high at 19%, the mean value decreases to 4.24.

Table 4 provides an analysis of the composition of Preveza households including extended relatives and servants prior to considerable changes of

¹⁴¹ Komis, 'Demographic aspects of the Greek household: The case of Preveza (18th century)', p.289.

household formation later in the century as a result of trade growth and migration:

Table 4. Preveza household analysis (Census 1719)

	% age of all Households	Average number of persons per Household
a) Simple family households	60%	4.12
-with children	32%	4.47
-of widows / widowers	10%	2.60
b) Extended family households	36%	4.74
c) Multiple family households	0	0

Conspicuously, there are no multiple family households. Perhaps the affordability and accessibility of shelter were such that it was convenient to live as separate family units. Preveza in 1719 was a small town untouched by the overcrowded living conditions encountered in some European cities. Nevertheless, the figures show a significant level of extended family households (36%) indicative perhaps of family living customs or arrangements between relatives in times of need. The arrangements might have come about as a result of death, disease, misfortunes of conflict or simply hard times. The highest proportion of homes (32%) was that with children. In 65% of those, the census recorded 1-3 resident children, 9% 4 or 5 children, and 26% no children. Quite a high proportion (10%) of homes showed one parent as deceased. This leads to the issue of mortality. Komis' study shows that at the time of the census of 1719 there were only two persons over the age of 60 living in Preveza, 1% of the town's total. Whilst the figure is indicative of the low level of people reaching old age, Zante's larger sample provides a more reliable reading.

Table 5 shows Zante's population by age group and gender as provided by Mercati. Significantly, in the view of the public official, women over 50 years of age were considered 'old' while the corresponding figure for men he set at 60. This is not unusual. As M. Pelling's study of early modern Norwich has also shown, contemporary views regarded the ability to 'work' as a key criterion of age group definition.¹⁴² Zantiot women over 50 years of age

¹⁴² Margaret Pelling, 'Old People and Poverty in Early Modern Towns', *Bulletin of the Society for the social history of medicine*, 34 (1984), 42-47 (p. 42).

and men over 60 fell outside that category and in defining the age groups Mercati uses the words for 'old men' and 'old women'.¹⁴³ Of course, in the harsh living conditions affecting most poor households, Mercati's old folk continued to contribute to income generating and other household activities that included field work, spinning, and weaving. In reviewing the Zante data, corresponding figures from the census of 1991 have been inserted in order to put the 1811 figures into a current context:

Table 5. Population comparisons by gender and age group¹⁴⁴

			<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
			<u>Act.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Act.</u>	<u>%</u>
Zante (1811)	1-16 years		6377	19.64%	4846	14.92%
//	50+ //		N/A	-	2208	6.80%
//	60+ //		1556	4.79%	N/A	-
//	all age groups		17557	54.07%	14912	45.93%
Greece (1991)	1-14 years		1.015m	9.89%	0.960m	9.36%
//	50+ //		N/A	-	1.793m	17.48%
//	60+ //		0.927m	9.03%	N/A	-
//	all age groups		5.055m	49.27%	5.204m	50.73%

Both the level of 'widowed' families in Preveza in Table 4 and the relatively low percentage level of 'old' persons in Zante can be indicative of deaths at a younger age due to disease or adverse living conditions. At a combined total of 11.6% for Zante, population survival rates for 'old' people compare with 26.5% for 1991. The high incidence of death at an earlier age among the Greek community is confirmed by the parish records of the suburb of Kampiolo in Corfu. In the parish of the Church of Παναγία Ἀντιβουνιώτισσα deaths were recorded throughout the period from March 1707 to June 1793. Analysis shows 891 deaths of which 434 (48.7%) were males and 457 (51.3%) females.¹⁴⁵ Average ages at the time of death showed 35.08 years for males and 38.79 for females. Unfortunately in 66% of deaths there is no

¹⁴³ Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Citta ed Isola di Zante*, (Zante, 1811), p. 77.

¹⁴⁴ Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Citta ed Isola di Zante*, (Zante, 1811), p. 77; <http://statistics.gr> [accessed 24 June 2008] (1991 – population by gender and age).

¹⁴⁵ I. Laskaratos & I. Laskaris, 'Αιτίες θανάτου κατά τόν 18^ο αιώνα στη νήσο Κέρκυρα' (Causes of death in the island of Corfu in the eighteenth century), *Bulletin of the Iatrosurgical Society of Athens*, Proceedings (1981), 25-32 (p. 29).

reason given probably because the cause was unknown or uncertain. From those given, death seemed to occur primarily as a result of contagious and life threatening diseases including smallpox, chest infections, dropsy, death in labour, accidents, and generally from a range of symptoms with uncertain cause such as 'fever' or 'pain'.¹⁴⁶ Infant mortality was high. The French Consul in the Ionian Islands André Grasset Saint-Sauveur observed 'the women of Corfu are prolific; five births are common' and Vlassopoulos 'we should admit this sad truth: there are few from the countryside who reach old age; the number of children that die in young age is great'.¹⁴⁷ Seen in the context of the Preveza census which shows a ratio of only 9% of homes with 4 or 5 children, it appears St Sauveur's and Vlassopoulos' observations were not very wide of the mark. 'Cruel Charon, most cruelly have you taken my child, who was my pride, who was my life' is one of many traditional Greek laments expressing the grief of the loss of a child.¹⁴⁸

Table 5 also points to the higher levels of Zantiot male children 1-16 years of age compared with females at a ratio of 1.31. This was a factor that came to the notice of Vlassopoulos for it showed in the data of Corfu's births that he was able to obtain for the year ending August 1779. During that period, there were 1047 births in Corfu of which 560 males (53.5%) and 487 females (46.5%) a gender ratio of 1.15. Significantly, he observes that the male/female ratio is substantially different in the group 'born in the town and suburbs' to that for the countryside. Of the 362 born in the town and suburbs the ratio of male to female is 0.98 whilst for the 685 born in the countryside the ratio is 1.25. Vlassopoulos asserts that this is natural because 'energetic and labouring life style is conducive to the production of males rather than females'. In addition, he offers as further proof the fact that of Corfu's 117 illegitimate births 'all fruits of the misconduct of town dwellers... only 42 are males compared with 72 females'.¹⁴⁹ The notion that a contributing factor to

¹⁴⁶ Laskaratos & I. Laskaris, 'Αιτίες θανάτου κατά τόν 18^ο αιώνα στή νήσο Κέρκυρα' (Causes of death in the island of Corfu in the eighteenth century), pp. 26-28.

¹⁴⁷ Quoted in Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 277; Vlassopoulos, *Στατιστικά Ίστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις* (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), p. 22.

¹⁴⁸ Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, rev. by D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), p. 124.

¹⁴⁹ Vlassopoulos, *Στατιστικά Ίστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις* (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), pp. 38-39.

this extreme gender ratio (0.58) may be a sign of the preference for male children in Greek society did not feature in his observations. As with the investigation relating to Kefalonian foundlings in the 1830s, it seems Ionian Island folk were inclined to abandoning more females than males.¹⁵⁰ In the agrarian society of the time, boys were expected to generate family income, become heirs, propagate the lineage, and provide further protection to the family. Concerning the matter of the general predominance of male births in Greece, the phenomenon had been confirmed by further demographic studies relating to more recent times and seems to have continued well into the twentieth century.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, in the context of our period, it is necessary to repeat that one feels obliged to qualify one's observations given the limitations of the available data.

2.2 The Nature of Disease

Morbidity – in the context of the nature of disease among the wider Greek population – proves somewhat less elusive than demographic data. In the traveller and consular accounts and rare memoirs of the period we get occasional references to community morbidity or mortality albeit relating to a specific event or exceptional contagious attacks. In addition, two sets of data offer us better insights on the diseases that were most prominent in the lives of the community, both life threatening and of a kind whereby recovery was possible. Importantly, they derive from qualified academic physicians such as John Hennen and F.C.H.L. Pouqueville both with long experience of life in the region and a deep appreciation of the diseases afflicting the community.

Remarking on the generally poor health of the people of Corfu in the 1820s, John Hennen MD tells us 'the constitution of the natives is by no means so well able to bear evacuations, especially by blood letting'.¹⁵² A graduate of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons, and Principal Medical Officer in the Mediterranean, Hennen was particularly well qualified to comment on the general health of the Greek community of Corfu and the other islands of

¹⁵⁰ Thomas W. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion – Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), pp. 83-85.

¹⁵¹ Komis, 'Demographic aspects of the Greek household: The case of Preveza (18th century)', p. 290; Vasilios G. Valaoras, 'A reconstruction of the demographic history of modern Greece', *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 38. 2 (1960), 115-139 (p.138).

¹⁵² Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 196.

the Ionian Sea. His 'Medical Topography' was an extensive and systematic investigation of health and other related matters in Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Islands whilst in the service of the British Navy. With regard to diseases in the Greek islands, he was able to provide a detailed account of the predominant ailments afflicting the locals, using the medical knowledge and terminology of the time as a result of his study of people's health in Corfu, Kefalonia, Zante and Santa Mavra.

In terms of major seasonal afflictions, Hennen points to the wide spread of remittent and intermittent fevers, almost always symptoms of malarial disease. Remittent fevers were particularly evident from the middle of June to the middle of September, to be succeeded by the intermittent variety until the middle of January. According to Hennen's information from a local physician of over thirty years practice, 'not less than 1/5th of Kefalonia's population' suffered from these fevers annually.¹⁵³ This is a very high level of affliction, for a large section of the population. Feelings of weakness, lack of appetite, no inclination to move, chattering teeth, shaking, high fever, and profuse perspiration are all typical body reactions to intermittent malarial attack. Sometimes the fevers were of the bilious type leading to dehydration and endangering the life of the sufferer. The disease was particularly injurious to the agrarian community. Its seasonality was such that it attacked the working population during the most demanding periods of the agricultural calendar. Importantly, malaria was endemic not only in Kefalonia but throughout Greece afflicting especially villages in the plains and valleys.

Prior to the extensive drainage programmes of the twentieth century, Greece had been a marshy country both near the coast line and in the interior. As Angelomatis – Tsougarakis and Schizas show scarcely did travellers of the period cross a part of the country without the mention of a marsh.¹⁵⁴ In the islands or the mainland, from Corfu to Zante, Ioannina in the north to Laconia in the south the land was interspersed by marshes as a result of seasonal rainfall or coastal flooding.

¹⁵³ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 274.

¹⁵⁴ Angelomatis – Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival, British travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth – Century Greece*, pp. 28, 32; Schizas, "Ἡ Ἑλονοσία στὴν Ἑλλάδα στὰ χρόνια τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας ὅπως τὴν εἶδαν οἱ ξένοι ταξιδιώτες" (Malaria in Greece during Ottoman rule as observed by foreign travellers), pp. 19-25.

Elis on the side of Pyrgos is very unhealthy, on account of the exhalations and the damp of the evenings. It is, besides, infested with swarms of mosquitoes which seem engendered in the marches. The valley of Argolis, with its rice-grounds and fields of poppies is subject to contagion; and Nauplia is the focus of fevers... The situation in Tripolitza is unfortunate if more than a fortnight elapses without rain: it is then commonly visited by dangerous fevers. ...the environs of Janina from the vicinity of the lake, are subject to tertian fevers in the spring, but in the autumn the quartan seems more prevalent.¹⁵⁵

Connection of marsh land with disease had been made but, as in the case of Vlassopoulos, and the travellers Pouqueville, Scrofani, and others, the causes were attributed to polluted air or harmful plants rather than malaria parasites transmitted by abundant female anopheles mosquitoes breeding in the stagnant waters.¹⁵⁶ Some artificial drainage was undertaken but for reasons of commerce and water supply rather than disease protection for the population. Drainage work was time consuming, expensive and consequently a matter for the higher civic authorities or monasteries who owned most of the land. According to Hennen, to ease the symptoms for remittent fevers,

the native practitioners, after a gentle purge, immediately commence with [Peruvian] bark but never have recourse to the lancet. In intermittent, they commence with emetics and then administer the bark.¹⁵⁷

Nevertheless, from the comments of another physician, Henry Holland, and Pouqueville, it appears that access to cinchona bark was available mainly in towns where there were apothecaries and people with sufficient funds to

¹⁵⁵ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 179.

¹⁵⁶ Vlassopoulos, *Στατιστικά Ιστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra)*, p.37; Schizas, "Η Έλονοσία στην Ελλάδα στα χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας όπως την είδαν οι ξένοι ταξιδιώτες" (*Malaria in Greece during Ottoman rule as observed by foreign travellers*), p. 21.

¹⁵⁷ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p.190.

afford a remedy that had to be taken every day and for a long period: According to Holland, 'only those living in Saloniki use cinchona' whilst Pouqueville remarked 'I seldom observed intermittent fevers resist a mixture of coffee and juice of lemons, which is the general remedy throughout the country'.¹⁵⁸

Malarial disease types were not the only seasonably-determined afflictions. Synochus, a continuous type of fever, was associated with the spring. Cases of catarrh, pulmonary complaints, coughs, and pneumonia were very common ailments especially in wintertime and in the case of pneumonia often fatal.¹⁵⁹ A common disease of the summer was scarlatina (scarlet fever), an acute contagious disease of childhood which proved especially fatal and, according to Hennen, the primary reason behind the high level of deaths in the foundling hospital of Corfu.¹⁶⁰

Other diseases encountered frequently by Hennen and Pouqueville were gout, arthritis, rheumatism, scrofula - a form of tuberculosis common in children - jaundice, haemorrhoids, hepatitis, dysentery, dropsy - a condition characterised by excess fluid collecting in the cavities of body tissues - diseases of the liver and spleen, and elephantiasis, a disease that is characterized by the thickening of the skin and underlying tissues, especially in the legs and most often caused by parasitic worms.¹⁶¹

In 1800, epidemic diseases such as yellow fever claimed between five and seven people a day in Corfu (population ca 45,000), and in 1779 when 'this unfortunate people (Corfu) were attacked by smallpox, it caused its usual devastation with deaths reaching more than double the number of births' (ca 4000).¹⁶² Smallpox was a frequent visitor to the region claiming the lives of a substantial part of the population especially among the young. Even worse, however, were the fatal visitations of contagious disease 'that more

¹⁵⁸ Schizas, 'Η Έλονοσία στην Ελλάδα στα χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας όπως την είδαν οι ξένοι ταξιδιώτες' (Malaria in Greece during Ottoman rule as observed by foreign travellers), p. 24; Pouqueville, *Travels through the Morea*, p. 84.

¹⁵⁹ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 275; Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 187.

¹⁶⁰ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 199.

¹⁶¹ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, pp. 190, 276, 327; Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, pp. 186-188.

¹⁶² Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 189; Vlassopoulos, Στατιστικά Ιστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), p. 34.

dreadful scourge which a moist winter and a hot spring seldom fail to bring on'.¹⁶³

Plague in various forms was endemic in most of the region throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Consular and other reports show plague in the peninsula and the islands for the years 1705, 1712, 1723, 1741, 1758-62, 1781-82, 1787-89, 1791, 1798, and 1814-17. In the absence of organized measures for its containment in most of the Ottoman territories, the impact on local life was devastating: 'the epidemic is testing severely the city and neighbouring habitations. Inside the city walls around 300 people die every day... This town has but 80,000 souls... may God protect us from the worse' reported the Venetian consul of Saloniki in April 1741.¹⁶⁴ Whilst the reported levels of mortality are not officially confirmed, there is little doubt of the very high level of deaths. A plague of similar intensity was to ravage that city again forty years later. According to chaplain and doctor of the British Embassy James Dallaway, in the island of Chios with an estimated population of ca 150,000, a third perished in the plague of 1782.¹⁶⁵ The 'plagues of Greece' had a very long and unfortunate history.

Of course, the health of the community was connected to other, less life threatening strands which linked to factors such as environment and diet. Typically, 'worms' were prevalent in all seasons and among all classes. This is indicative of the generally poor hygiene levels across the community as the affliction is due mainly to poorly cooked meat, contaminated water, faeces, and occasionally mosquitoes. Various types of parasites affected most houses. From Hennen's study of Kefalonia, psora, an ailment caused by parasitic mites, was common all over the island 'generated by filth which in all mountainous districts disposes to the disease'.¹⁶⁶ Like other parasitic afflictions it was transmitted by contact in the uncongenial dwellings characteristic of the majority. Generally, the community lived in close proximity to their farm animals. Their houses were often of simple, mud brick, constructed with floors of pressed earth. Simple shutters and doors kept out

¹⁶³ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 188.

¹⁶⁴ Mertzios, *Μνημεία Μακεδονικής Ιστορίας* (Records of Macedonian History), p. 304.

¹⁶⁵ James Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern, with excursions to the shores and islands of the Archipelago, and to the Troad* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1797), p. 278.

¹⁶⁶ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 275.

the wind and cold. For Sonnini, such uninviting living quarters provided an ideal habitat for unwelcomed visitors and left a lasting impression:

Perhaps there is no place in the world where there are so many fleas, particularly during the winter, as in these rude dwellings... The multitude of these insects is really extraordinary; one is covered and devoured by them; they spread themselves even over and flip into the hair...¹⁶⁷

Reflecting his military background and experience in such matters, Leake's remark in this subject is more phlegmatic:

A clean shirt is not a weekly luxury even with all the higher classes; and among the soldiers it is sometimes worn out without ever being washed, though occasionally taken off, and held over the fire, that the animals contained in it, intoxicated by the smoke, may fall into the fire when a crackling announces the success of the operation.¹⁶⁸

This is not to make a point of the sensitivities of Western Europeans but to connect a mode of living common to a large section of the population, characteristic of an unhygienic environment, and one of many factors that exposed the Greek community to infection. This brings us to the matter of the quality of drinking water and diet in general.

Pouqueville, a physician of over ten years' experience in the country observed: 'The water is not in general pure'.¹⁶⁹ Depending on location and season, water quality seemed to vary. Under the influence of Venetian state policy, Zante's 8500 households were well provided with water having access to 201 springs, 3642 wells and 783 cisterns.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, in Corfu Hennen

¹⁶⁷ C.S. Sonnini, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, (London: Longman & Rees, 1801), pp. 291-293.

¹⁶⁸ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, i, p. 39.

¹⁶⁹ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 181.

¹⁷⁰ Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Città ed Isola di Zante*, (Zante, 1811), pp. 82-83.

found that 'water wells were excellent but in town strongly impregnated by calcareous matter making it unfit for many domestic purposes'.¹⁷¹

In the Ottoman area, water provision appears less organised and Pouqueville's observations help to confirm the causes for the diverse quality of drinking water. River water would be suitable in winter and early spring but with the onset of dry season the waters became stagnant and unsuitable. The inhabitants of Tripolitza had acceptable water from cisterns replenished in the winter. However, as the wells were shallow, in the winter they became contaminated with the water of the marshes whereas in the summer they tended to dry out or their water turned fetid and unfit for use. Pouqueville also noted that 'the waters of Lerna are febrile (show signs of sickness), as the inhabitants report; these of Corinth should be of the same quality, to judge by the lymphatic (pale / sluggish) constitution of the inhabitants... The waters of mount Ithome and those of Arkadia are the best'.¹⁷²

In relation to diet and people's health, many travellers and locals point to a chronically frugal existence for the majority of the population exacerbated by poverty and the strict observance of frequent and austere religious fasts.¹⁷³ According to E. Theotokis, in Corfu 'fresh or smoked fish, olives, cheese, vegetables, corn pies, marrows, courgettes, nuts and fresh fruit provide an economical (*peu couteux*) and healthy meal' for the common people.¹⁷⁴ In Pouqueville's Morea the diet is similar to that of Corfu plus fish roe, high consumption of fruits in season, and especially melons, water-melons and gourds, 'these last like the manna from heaven to the people'.¹⁷⁵ In the regions of livestock breeding, milk and yogurt were essential food for the farming communities. Flour was usually available and often received in payment for agricultural labour. Altogether, it seems that under normal circumstances, the people's diet was simple but above subsistence level as summed up by Hennen: 'the mass of the Greek nation may be fairly called abstemious in their domestic lives'.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the meagre existence of

¹⁷¹ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 189.

¹⁷² Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 181.

¹⁷³ Angelomatis – Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival, British travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth – Century Greece*, pp. 88-89.

¹⁷⁴ E. Theotokis, *Détails sur Corfou*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁷⁵ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 183.

¹⁷⁶ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 180.

the ordinary Greek or Turkish subject was worsened by the increasing tax demands of the Porte, the extortion of local governors and the destruction of the local economic infrastructure as a result of oppressive government, conflict, or the plague. In the context of our study Pouqueville encapsulates the situation thus:

People who have no property think of nothing but making a scanty provision for their physical necessities; their food is consequently not abundant, and seldom very wholesome; their habitations are damp, and often placed in the most unhealthy situations.¹⁷⁷

In the socio-political context of the time, Pouqueville's words have special significance for they connect the political situation with health. He was a child of the French Revolution and his sentiments would echo well into the following century.

For some observers, the strict requirements of religious fasting contributed to the finely balanced constitution of the Orthodox community. From the accounts of travellers early in the eighteenth century to those writing some one hundred years later, the practice was followed unfailingly. 'I confess I should have made a very sorry Greek, especially if travellers had not a dispensation from the Law of Fasting, which the natives here certainly have not' wrote the physician and botanist Tournefort in 1700.¹⁷⁸ For almost half of the year, the Orthodox Church advised restrictions on eating certain kinds of food. Depending on the day of the year, the community abstained from eating all or some of the following: olive oil, meat, fish, dairy products, and eggs. Seafood such as shrimps, squid, crabs, and octopus were allowed. Those without easy access to seafood followed a diet that had to be exclusively vegetarian and were often deprived of the nourishment of olive oil. For the predominantly agrarian society abstinence from some of these foodstuffs for a long period became apparent in people's thinness and pale

¹⁷⁷ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 189.

¹⁷⁸ Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, i, p. 120; also in Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii, p. 72; Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 182.

complexion.¹⁷⁹ Thankfully, physical strain on their flagging constitution was eased somewhat by the high number of Church holidays and the need to work only for two hundred days in the year.

2.3 Conclusions

This chapter set out to portray the prevailing health conditions of the Greek community and to identify some of the factors that influenced their health. Subject to the reservations of incomplete evidence at our disposal, the analysis suggests that, on average, people died young and life expectancy was around 37 years of age. This is not surprising and close to European levels, although they were subject to fluctuations.¹⁸⁰ Noting that the figures relate to a later period but a continuing agrarian society, life expectancy at birth for both sexes in Greece in the years 1860 to 1899 was of the range 35.7 -39.4 years.¹⁸¹ Deaths seemed to occur primarily as a result of perinatal complications, epidemic diseases (plague, smallpox, typhus, and scarlet fever), life threatening ailments and especially those related to chest infections and malaria. Importantly, the evidence suggests that through under nourishment most children and adults became especially susceptible to endemic diseases such as tuberculosis, dysentery, and general infection.

One underlining theme throughout this chapter is that of governments' role in determining the social, economic, and physical landscape and its consequent impact on people's health. The financial and physical impositions on the poorer population of the Ionian Islands and Greek subjects of the Porte deprived them of material resources, a factor leading to malnutrition and lower resistance to infection. Pouqueville's remarks concerning people's failure to look after themselves when deprived of a stake in society is of particular note. Government initiatives such as better drinking water provision in the Venetian territories when compared with the Ottoman area illustrate the point further. Population studies have confirmed that the political culture and institutions of

¹⁷⁹ Angelomatis – Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival, British travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth – Century Greece*, p. 89.

¹⁸⁰ Stephen Kunitz, 'Medicine, Mortality, and Morbidity', in *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, ed. by W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 2004), ii, pp. 1693-1711.

¹⁸¹ Valaoras, 'A reconstruction of the demographic history of modern Greece', p. 132.

a society have a profound effect upon its physical health.¹⁸² This brings us to the matter of the prolonged religious fasting and its dubious blessings on the constitution of the Greek community. For good or ill it was an integral part of Greek Orthodox life and would continue well into the following century.

Enough has been said to demonstrate the generally hostile medical landscape affecting the Greek population. Reflecting on the evidence of our primary sources, it is not surprising that, with so much potential for illness, the odds against any individual living out his full span were quite low. The challenges for the community were to explain why this was so and seek the appropriate paths towards relief from pain and ultimately a cure. These are the issues that are examined in the following chapters.

¹⁸² Stephen Kunitz, *The Health of Populations – General Theories and Particular Realities* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), p. 76.

3. For the Health of Body and Soul -

Religion and healing among the Orthodox community

Sing paeon, boys, [for the] famous for skill... Asklepios,
the most famous deity... from whom sprang Machaon,
Podaleirius, and Iaso... and pleasant-looking Aigle
and Panakeia... together with famous holy Hygieia;¹⁸³

Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of
the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him
with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayers of
faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.¹⁸⁴

Throughout Greek history, medicine and religion have been closely inter-connected. From the Homeric Paeëon, progenitor of the race of physicians, to Asklepios, Apollo *Iatros* (Healer) and Jesus in the Christian era, Greek religion and medicine have shared a central objective: the well-being of humanity. Asklepios, popular god of healing, acted directly or through a physician when the afflicted were brought to his temple. His healing and charitable nature earned him the epithets *Σωτήρ* (Saviour) and *Φιλάνθρωπος* (Philanthropist); two qualities subsequently used in reference to Christ although in significance beyond that understood in classical times. According to Edelstein, 'philanthropy' in the Hippocratic context meant 'no more than a certain friendliness of disposition and kindness rather than ... obligations toward humanity' whilst Christ's epithet of *Σωτήρ* (Saviour) denoted both saviour of souls as well as physical bodies.¹⁸⁵ Hippocratic philosophy emphasised the sacredness of healing power further linking the divine with the secular: 'I will be chaste and religious (*ἀγνῶς δὲ καὶ δσίως*) in my life and in my practice' read the Hippocratic Oath; wholesomeness and sanctity

¹⁸³ Ian Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans* (New York: Oxford UP, 2001), pp. 39-40.

¹⁸⁴ The New Testament, James, 5.14-15

¹⁸⁵ *Ancient Medicine, Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein*, ed. by O. and C.L. Temkin (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1967), pp. 319-323.

distinguished the healer and his art and reaffirmed the divine connection with medicine.¹⁸⁶

The surge of the new Christian religion brought about the decline and replacement of the old pagan cults including that of Asklepios.¹⁸⁷ Nonetheless, by the adoption of the Greek language and large elements of Greek philosophical thought, Christianity embraced philosophical and scientific positions associated with pagan Hellenism. Christian ethics addressed fundamental issues such as 'what are we here for?' (*ἐπὶ τί γεγόναμεν;*), the enquiries on human existence as a revelation of divine life, the supporting rationale for the existence of the soul (*ψυχή*), and its intellectual and practical association with 'the moral character' and the physical body (*σῶμα*).¹⁸⁸ Hellenic philosophy had debated such topics and provided much of the theoretical framework for the new religion.

Church doctrine embraced aspects of Hellenic philosophy including the mutual influence of body and soul when the physical and the spiritual, *σῶμα* and *ψυχή*, can be restored to harmony through the Christian God, 'healer of body and soul' (*Ἱατρός ψυχῶν τέ καί σωματίων*). Thus, in the history of Christian Hellenism we discern similarities with pagan Hellenism and Hellenic science with Christian religious faith. Commenting on the relationship of Byzantine Orthodoxy and science, Hussey observes that 'Orthodoxy regarded pagan philosophy as an ancillary to theology which could be used only so long as it did not conflict with Christian doctrine'.¹⁸⁹ In Byzantine times, Christ's concern for the infirm, evident through the Gospels, stands out as a central tenet of Christian life attested by the canonisation of Christian healers. (Illustration 5)

Under Ottoman rule (ca 1453-1821), the link with classical thinking remained unbroken and renewed. On this occasion Neo-Aristotelianism emerged as the favourite philosophical and scientific system in the Orthodox East. It was introduced by the Greek philosopher Theophilos Corydaleus

¹⁸⁶ *Hippocratic Writings*, ed. by G.E.R. Lloyd and trans. by J.Chadwick, W.N. Mann and others (London: Penguin, 1983), p. 67.

¹⁸⁷ E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1965), p. 109.

¹⁸⁸ Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, pp.21-22; Lloyd, *In the Grip of Disease*, pp.7-8; Eijk, *Medicine and Philosophy in classical antiquity*, pp. 127-128.

¹⁸⁹ Constantelos, 'The Interface of Medicine and Religion', pp.5-6; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, p. 143.

(1570-1646) a student of Cesare Cremonini (1550-1631) at the University of Padua where Neo-Aristotelianism was the prominent current of philosophical debate. Departing from Scholasticism and its strong emphasis on tradition and dogma, the new theory became known as 'religious humanism'. It set out to separate religion from natural philosophy and explain nature through purely physical causes yet within a framework of classical Greek philosophy and Christian teaching.¹⁹⁰ A radical departure from established Church views, the new policy was championed by Kyrillos A' (1572-1638) appointed Patriarch in Constantinople in 1620. These were turbulent times characterised by the religious and political conflict of the 'Thirty Years' War' in Europe and regular attempts to remove Kyrillos in Constantinople. His occupation of the Patriarchal throne was marked by the incessant intrigues of his Church opponents. Even so, on each of the five occasions he was deposed from office he was reinstated. Kyrillos invited Corydaleus to re-organise the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople as the primary academic institution of higher education in the region and, importantly, help contain highly energetic Catholic propaganda in the Orthodox East.

Kyrillos' attempt to inject new dynamism into the intellectual purview of his community came to an abrupt end in June 1638 when, on the orders of the Sultan, he was executed on suspicion of acting against the interests of the Sublime Porte. Corydaleus' dismissal followed soon after. In the absence of the two great agents of change, the long-standing Church antipathy towards the West gave rise to a relatively isolated intellectual milieu and a collective mind-set generally unreceptive to new ideas. There were some notable exceptions within the Church establishment, the Fanariots, a highly influential elite circle of Greeks from Constantinople, and the emerging educated class for whom the intellectual stimulus of a wider European education had special appeal. Nevertheless, a good number of Corydaleus' Church successors became fervent polemicists against many of the scientific discoveries and new philosophical ideas conceived in Europe. In the context of Orthodox Church conservatism from a sociological viewpoint, Makrides has shown how such

¹⁹⁰ Kitromilidis, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* (Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment), pp. 29-31; Dialetis and others 'The Sciences in the Greek Speaking Regions During The 17th and 18th Centuries' pp. 5-8.

'preoccupation with the preservation of tradition led to an imperceptible absolutization of the past and to the development of strong anti-progressive trends' by a significant section of the Orthodox hierarchy.¹⁹¹

The battles were fought by rhetorical and other means. A notably extreme reaction to European scientific influence was that of Sergios Makraios (1734-1819) professor of science at the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople. In defence of the Orthodox Church's attachment to the past, (e.g. Aristotle) and an assault against Copernican followers, Makraios' treatise *Τρόπαιον* attacked European scientists in intensely derogatory terms as 'lunatics, uneducated and irrational'.¹⁹² Obscurantist condemnation of Western scientific thought included, among others, rejection of heliocentricity, denunciation of the political ideas of the French revolution and exhortations to parents to cease sending their beloved children to Europe thereby protecting them from losing their souls.

The conduct of this reactionary section of the Church leadership and community to European ideas can be better appreciated when placed in the context of the profound societal changes in the West when compared with Eastern Orthodox society. During the period of Ottoman rule over the Orthodox Greeks, (ca 1453-1821), Europe had experienced fundamental scientific progress and cultural change: the discovery of the New World, the impact of Atlantic trade, loss of spice routes, the Reformation, the Scientific Revolution, Enlightenment and French Revolution are just a few of the far-reaching events that influenced most European peoples to some extent and at all societal levels. In contrast, much of the Greek world remained isolated from such forces of transformation until the second half of the eighteenth century when some political change, a need for response to European intellectual developments and greater contact with Western Europe through trade and

¹⁹¹ For an extensive analysis of this subject see Makrides' works: 'Science and the Orthodox Church in 18th and early 19th century Greece'; 'Ορθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία καί φορεῖς τοῦ Διαφωτισμοῦ στὸν Ἑλληνικὸ χώρο: Ἰδιαιτερότητες μιᾶς σχέσης' (Orthodox Church and the conveyors of enlightenment to the Greek setting: Peculiarities of the relationship); 'Ἡ Ὁρθοδοξία ὡς μηχανισμὸς ἀμυνας καὶ ἀντιστάθμισης ἐναντι τῶν προόδων τῆς Δύσης κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν' (Orthodoxy as a mechanism of defence and counter-balance in opposition to Western progress during the Ottoman rule). Also, Kitromilidis, *Νεοελληνικὸς Διαφωτισμὸς* (Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment), pp. 21-82; Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικὸς Διαφωτισμὸς* (Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment), pp. 1-144.

¹⁹² Makrides, 'Science and the Orthodox Church', pp. 277-78.

education stimulated a form of Greek Enlightenment. Until then, cultural isolation and the perceived socio-political threats to the Sultan and Patriarch fuelled local resistance to scientific ideas:

What is the advantage of having our young people glued to these lessons (i.e. mathematics and the sciences) and learning about numbers... properties of light... and bits of optics, and acoustics... and then have them barbarians in their speech... ignorant in matters of religion, in morals perverted and corrupt...?¹⁹³

This passage from an Encyclical by Patriarch Gregory V in 1819 is indicative of the Church's contemporary cultural outlook. In a social landscape already heavily tested by Ottoman rule, advocates of new ideas in the Greek world faced some powerful obstacles. In a socio-political arena distinctive for its time, the Orthodox Church exercised extraordinary intellectual, secular and religious authority over its people and fashioned an 'exclusion zone' where academic and physical contact with 'The West' was subject to multi-layered authority control.

Intellectuals such as Evgenios Voulgaris (1716-1806) debated the new philosophical and scientific questions but within a confined learned circle and, importantly, within a largely pro-Orthodox philosophical setting. As for the majority of Greek folk, the pre-existing resentful attitude towards Europe and instructions from the pulpit offered modest opportunities for the wider assimilation of cosmopolitan attitudes and new ideas. Notwithstanding the uncomfortable relationship between the Orthodox and Latin Churches and a propensity for Oriental stereotyping by European travellers to the region, such reactionary *mentalités* were evident even in the Ionian Islands where the long rule of Venice and easier access to Western Europe had played their part in inculcating softer feelings towards the West. According to the physician and traveller Holland, some priests on the island of Kefalonia, 'in a curious instance of their tendency to resist innovation... laboured to convince the

¹⁹³ Quoted in *Ὁ Κοραΐς καὶ ἡ Ἐποχὴ του* (Korais and his Times) ed. by K.T. Dimaras, (Athens: Zacharopoulos, 1953) p. 302.

peasants, that the potato was the very apple with which the serpent seduced Adam and Eve in Paradise'.¹⁹⁴ In this way, obscurantist attitudes were nourished and popular acceptance of the existence and corrupting power of supernatural agencies re-enforced, especially in the popular mind.

Regular social networks influence the manner in which perceptions evolve and in the *longue durée* of Ottoman, and to some extent Venetian, rule, it was natural that the centrality, proximity, educational influence and authority of the Church shaped the precepts embraced by Orthodox folk. In sanctioning selected values, symbols, and rituals, it was a strong Church and vibrant tradition that defined their outlook and spiritual identity.

Hence, in relation to health and disease, Church authority and influence were instrumental in preserving Orthodox community sensitivities and long-established systems of belief among the majority of the population. The primary questions to consider in this chapter are: (a) how did such Church doctrines and outlook rationalise contemporary explanations for personal or communal disease? (b) what were the forms of religious healing practices in the private and public Orthodox arenas? (c) to what extent were such pastoral practices and therapeutic beliefs embraced by the community? Greek people stood exposed to an intensely insecure environment, under threat of famine, disease, earthquakes, and personal harm. Forced to come to terms with their afflictions and subject to the emotional human need for explanation, they turned for answers to Christian healing doctrine, long-held beliefs inherited from earlier generations and the local cleric.

3.1 Our remedies in our selves lie - Perceptions of disease

Our remedies oft in our selves do lie, which we
ascribe to heaven.

William Shakespeare¹⁹⁵

For the unexplored abyss of its indescribable trespasses,
Divine providence allows various hazards from disease
to plague humanity continually but, simultaneously, it

¹⁹⁴ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, p. 41.

¹⁹⁵ *Shakespeare: All's Well That Ends Well*, ed. by W.J. Craig (London: Oxford UP, 1971), I. i. 235-236, p. 272.

endows humanity with the aptitude and the means
[to prevent] fatal consequences through the agency
of medicine.

Aloysius Kapadokas¹⁹⁶

If Greek society was so oriented towards religion, it is appropriate to consider the influence of the Orthodox Church upon contemporary beliefs relating to illness and the human body. In a comparable case in point, Christopher Hill and Andrew Wear show how, in the process of creating a highly 'spiritualised' Puritan household, the English Reformation brought about a reduction of priestly authority and a move towards 'a more secular and rational view of illness'.¹⁹⁷ In its Protestant form, spiritualisation tended to be internal to the believer and did not rely nor require the mediation of the church. In tandem, released from the intellectual grip of the Church, individuality of conscience became a primary constituent factor of European social and scientific change and instrumental in transforming the lives of generations. In contrast, for the Orthodox congregation of the eighteenth century, 'spiritualisation' of the household had taken a different form. In a precarious existence, the mystical nature of church experience evolved as a potent conduit of divine guidance and the omnipresent local cleric stood as the intimate source of spiritual and physical comfort. In Eastern Orthodoxy, the road to the Almighty and any hope for the future rested on the cohesion between the faithful and the Church. Constantinople, the Patriarch, bishops and clergy were essential symbols of ethnic identity and kinship. Connecting heaven and earth was the field of the priest and for a Greek Orthodox household to shift away from Church authority was inconceivable.

Unlike mainland Europe, the majority of Greek society under Ottoman, and to some extent Venetian, rule had no experience of the traumas and disputes of Protestant Revolution and Counter Reformation, the catalysts for so much of European scientific enquiry and social change. Ottoman severity

¹⁹⁶ Ιστορικό Αρχείο Κέρκυρας - Μεγάλοι Πρωτοπαπάδες (Historical Archive of Corfu - High Protopriests), MS 52, fols 847^r - 851^r

Aloysius Kapadokas, High Protopriest of Corfu, in his introduction to an encyclical of 1779 on measures to contain the spread of smallpox in the island.

¹⁹⁷ Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (New York: Schocken, 1967), pp. 446-448; Andrew Wear, 'Puritan perceptions in seventeenth century

for the 'non-conformist', Patriarchal cautiousness to Western ideas and the need for communal solidarity and security offered little scope for a realignment of Orthodox theology, flowering of a critical perspective among the community and rigorous enquiry along a Western European model. The intimate bonds between the Orthodox flock and their Church continued as strong and mutually dependant. Hence, in the context of Orthodox religion and human health and disease, the prevailing intellectual and political climate and Church energy at the 'vernacular' level preserved long-held community beliefs in the causes of illness, pain and suffering.

The dual and intimate role of the Christian God as healer of 'body and soul' had continued along similar lines from Byzantine times into the early-modern era. In the process, a most significant feature of the relationship between Orthodox religion and medicine stood out: the intellectual and practical malleability of the Orthodox medical tradition: deeply philanthropic yet often contrasting and incompatible. For centuries, some Church fathers

Viewed illness as a punishment sent by the divinity, while others saw it having natural causes... while some clergymen made a rational analysis of a disease and sought a logical and natural therapeutic approach, others confused the logical with superstition, the rational with the irrational.¹⁹⁸

All the same, learned Byzantine society was familiar with ancient Greek medicine, perceived its notions to be 'rational' and had 'close acquaintance with technical medical theory as well as with everyday knowledge of physicians and their approach to treatment' that co-existed with other long-venerated spiritual beliefs.¹⁹⁹ The Corfiot prelate Kapadokas typifies such intellectual position and flexibility of approach well into the eighteenth century.

In his encyclical of January 1779 relating to the current outbreak of smallpox, he alludes to Divine Providence as allowing various hazards from disease to plague humanity 'for its indescribable trespasses'. Further on,

England' in *Patients and practitioners: Lay perceptions of medicine in pre-industrial society*, ed. by Roy Porter, 1st edn (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), pp. 55-99 (p. 57).

¹⁹⁸ Constantelos, 'The Interface of Medicine and Religion' p. 8.

¹⁹⁹ John Scarborough, ed., 'Symposium on Byzantine Medicine' *Dumbarton Oak Papers*, 38 (1984), ix-vi (p. x).

however, he suggests that Divine Providence also endows humanity with the aptitude and means, through the 'agency of medicine', (*μέσον ιατρικής*), to prevent fatal consequences. Evidently, according to Kapadokas, the Lord chastises with disease humanity's wrongdoings yet is not indifferent to human suffering. Smallpox, an evil and terrible scourge, served to remind man of his mortal and sinful nature. Simultaneously, the medical art is gifted to humanity by God in order to lessen physical afflictions. A further excerpt from the High Protopriest's encyclical of January 1779 provides a revealing insight on the position of the Church in the matter of 'engrafting' a method of inoculation against the smallpox: (Illustration 6)

We, Aloysius Kapadokas, by Divine Grace High Protopriest of the city, the island of Kerkyra... Thus far, there has not been [discovered] a method more suitable to minimise the ravages of the epidemic disease of *εὐλογία* than that of 'engrafting'. Those who do not make use of this method ignore with contempt the gifts of Divine compassion... this act of 'engrafting' is not opposed by religious authority... on the contrary, our Patriarchs and Synods support it... [and] Divine compassion absolves this precaution.²⁰⁰

Plainly, until 1779, some church and laypersons considered the act of inoculation as demonic or contrary to the will of God. Even though occasionally practiced by some Greek mothers and women healers, official pressure to inoculate was resisted by a significant section of the population forcing the government to turn for help to 'Patriarchs and Synods' and local Church authorities. Henceforth, those who did not inoculate ignored Divine Compassion. Significantly, through the encyclical, local clergy were asked to compel their congregation to accept it. Even the persuasive powers of the Orthodox clergy were inadequate for, according to Vlassopoulos, over 4000

²⁰⁰ HAC, High Protopriests, MS 52, fols 847^r - 851^r

folk perished.²⁰¹ In spite of the grave death toll, general reluctance to embrace inoculation and then vaccination persisted throughout the Greek community. Dr Broadfoot of the Vaccine Institution of Corfu established in 1817 resorted to procuring a letter from the Senate's President in order to overcome continuing community resistance to vaccination. Addressed to the Greek bishop, and by his pastoral charges to the clergy, it asked that 'their flocks be induced to avail themselves of the advantages held out to them'.²⁰² In relation to the Aegean island of Tinos in 1806, the Paris-educated Greek physician M. Zallony observed:

Vaccination [δαμαλισμός] is not unknown in the East.

Wisely and methodically administered, it is recognised without doubt efficacious... Until today, through mistrust or difficulty to abandon old habits and accept new ones or due to lack of learning... it has been generally neglected.²⁰³

A turbulent socio-economic landscape and lack of regulatory state apparatus were not conducive for successful prophylactic measures against smallpox epidemics. More important however, the experience in Corfu demonstrates the wider state of affairs in Greek society where embedded popular attitudes and suspicion towards innovation prevailed. For Zallony this was founded on one generally held truth among the Orthodox: human affairs follow irrevocably Divine Providence and no human effort can make the least difference once it has been so ordered. When it came to smallpox, the Greek community stood with God rather than his clerics.

Significantly, echoing others around him, Kapadokas referred to smallpox as *εὐλογία*. In its ancient form the term *εὐλογία* is understood as 'praise' but progressively it also assumed the religious association with

²⁰¹ Viassopoulos, *Στατιστικά Ἱστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις* (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), pp. 34-35.

²⁰² Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 204.

²⁰³ Markaky Zallony, *Voyage à Tine*, trans. by D. M. Mavromaras (Athens, Laos: 1888), p. 98; Zallony was an apprentice at the Ecole Pratique, member of the Société d'Instruction Médicale de Paris and Doctor of Medicine to Prince Alexandre Suzzo in the early nineteenth century.

'blessing'.²⁰⁴ In its vernacular form *βλογιά* the word had been used for centuries and passed down the generations to Kapadokas' time. Used as a form of euphemism, (the use of auspicious words in order to avoid words considered ill-omened), the expression of 'blessing' for something so horrific as smallpox sought to propitiate Divinity to whose will some people attributed the cause of the disease or 'speak well' (*εὐλογωννυμείν*) of some event that can bring death.²⁰⁵ Evidently, in this way of thinking, the prelate was 'at one' with his flock and they with him.

The twin aspects of Divine punishment and compassion are found in Church doctrine and echoed in Church prayers and popular sentiment:

'These are the rewards of our evil; the fitting outcome of our unclean and wicked acts; our debauched, unjust and perjurious deeds' runs the prayer recommended in times of plague in *Εὐχολόγιον τό Μέγα* the Great Prayer of the Orthodox Liturgical prayers.²⁰⁶ Over time, such Church philosophy found voice in popular Greek proverbs: 'God gave the illness and the remedy' and 'many sins you have committed husband for every night to fall ill!' are just two of the genre.²⁰⁷

Other times, the Church related illness to the malign influence of demonic forces caused by vindictive spirits. In the matter of demonic possession, formal Orthodox Church doctrine accepted the existence of the devil and evil spirits and their capacity to cause illness. Typically, in the New Testament, Christ expels the unclean spirit (*πνεῦμα τό ἀκάθαρτον*) from the person whose convulsions (*σπαράξαν*) are characteristic of an epileptic fit.²⁰⁸ In Luke the evangelist points to the variety of the causes of disease: Whilst those coming to Jesus for cure suffered from a *variety of ailments* (*ἀσθενοῦντες νόσοις ποικίλαις*) a number were afflicted by *demonic beings*

²⁰⁴ NOD, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003). p. 597; G. Babiniotis, *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* (Dictionary of the New Greek Language), 2nd edn (Athens: Kentro Lexikologias, 2002), p. 691.

²⁰⁵ G.A. Moschopoulos, 'Αρρώστιες καί Λαϊκά Ἱατροσόφια', (Diseases and Popular Healing Prescriptions), *Ionios Echo*, 3.78-80 (1953), 9-12 (pp. 10-12).

²⁰⁶ *Εὐχολόγιον τό Μέγα* (Venice: Phoenix, 1862), p. 554.

²⁰⁷ Politis, *ΠΑΡΟΙΜΙΑΙ* (Proverbs), II, 479-489 (pp. 483, 488).

²⁰⁸ New Testament, Mark 1. 23-26.

(ἐξήρχετο δέ καί δαιμόνια ἀπό πολλῶν).²⁰⁹ Writing in the fourteenth century, the great religious thinker Gregorios Palamas summarised the official position of the Church regarding demonic influence on human health:

Demons influence humans in two ways; either externally and invisibly when their actions disturb man's thoughts and passions or internally and visibly as in the case of the *Δαιμονισμένοι* [those suffering by mental affliction caused by demonic possession]...essentially by entering such persons, [demons] alter the constitution of the human body and especially that of the brain.²¹⁰

Broadly speaking, the interpretation of Palamas' view suggests that demonic disturbance of man's thoughts and passions can lead into sin, a situation inviting God's punishment, the features of which may be physical affliction or death. In addition, demons have the power to alter a person's *physical* state as regards health thereby causing disease and mental disorder. From the texts attributed to Michael Psellus' *Περί Δαιμόνων* and Leo Allatios' *De Graecorum hodie quorundam opinionibus* (On certain modern opinions among the Greeks) such beliefs carried through into late Byzantium and the seventeenth century where it was accepted that daemons may enter the human body and assume power over bodily organs.²¹¹ According to Psellus, demons can make those possessed into epileptics and madmen (*ἐπιλήπτους καί ἔκφρονας*) and, interestingly, in *Περί Δαιμόνων* he discusses but rejects the theory of some doctors (*ιατρῶν παῖδες*) who held that illnesses with symptoms of possession were not due to daemonic but natural causes.²¹² The texts help in revealing a key aspect of contemporary Orthodox religious medical doctrine: In certain cases, the Church accepted daemonic causation of a disease and its

²⁰⁹ New Testament, Luke 4. 33-35.

²¹⁰ *Πηδάλιον* (Rudder), p.106.

²¹¹ Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology*, pp.215-218; Hartnap, *On the Beliefs of the Greeks' Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy*, pp. 238-240; Leo Allatios (1586-1669), Greek Chiote scholar educated in Italy, converted to Catholicism living and working mostly in Rome; also the chapter on 'The Devil in Byzantium' in Russell, *Lucifer, the Devil in the Middle Ages*.

²¹² Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology*, pp. 216-217.

views were in conflict with contemporary learned medicine.

In the early eighteenth century, Greek society seems to share this long-held and flexible religious position: In her application for divorce to the Orthodox High Protopriest (*Μέγας Πρωτοπαπάς*) of Corfu in May 1727, Maria, wife of Antonios Vasanezes, sought the Church's approval for separation from her husband on grounds of his chronic madness (*πολυχρόνιος μανία*). Her submission includes written statements from the Venetian state supervisors of people afflicted by such ailments and 'most experienced physicians who, with legally witnessed documents, attest the husband's chronic suffering' (*πάθος*).²¹³ In his adjudication, Protopriest Spyridon Voulgaris acknowledges and endorses lay and physician opinion:

assured by trustworthy [ἀξιοπίστους] written
testimonies on the incurable nature of [his]
illness... it is decided according to the holy
canons that Maria ... may be free ...²¹⁴

The document makes no mention of demonic influence from the petitioner or the Church authorities. Within it, the language of disease draws upon that of lay expert knowledge. In describing the alleged affliction, witnesses and the Orthodox prelate use 'natural' rather than 'mystical' terms for their diagnosis. Significantly, physician opinion is legitimated formally. The Church administration bestows authority to local doctors' judgment and, through their formal submission, the physicians towards the Church in an early modern version of V. Nutton's concept of 'mutual reinforcement of religious and secular, healing power'.²¹⁵ In this process, the medical profession gained in temporal authority and stature to become part of a collective group, a community of persons, with shared interests, ownership of social responsibility

²¹³ Kapadochos, 'Η απονομή της δικαιοσύνης στην Κέρκυρα απο τους μεγάλους πρωτοπαπάδες την ενετική περίοδο (1604-1797)' (The dispensation of justice in Kerkyra by the High Protopriests during the period of Venetian rule (1604-1797)), p. 409.

²¹⁴ Kapadochos, 'Η απονομή της δικαιοσύνης στην Κέρκυρα απο τους μεγάλους πρωτοπαπάδες την ενετική περίοδο (1604-1797)' (The dispensation of justice in Kerkyra by the High Protopriests during the period of Venetian rule (1604-1797)), p. 410.

²¹⁵ Nutton, *Ancient medicine* p. 114.

and position of public influence; perhaps one of the first, small, steps towards the medicalisation of modern Greek society. Importantly, in acknowledging implicitly the causes for madness as 'natural', the Church did not discard its option - and authority - to be the sole arbiter in matters of mental affliction or manic possession within the Orthodox community to the exclusion of medical experts.

A case in December 1738 shows the Corfiot Konstantinos Leisos petitioning the Church for permission to remarry. In the hearing he accuses the local priest Michael Sagias of effectively colluding with his previous wife Anastasia to falsely declare him (Leisos) an imbecile and mad (*μωρόν καί βουρλισμένον*) thereby enabling her to enter into a second marriage.²¹⁶

He strengthens his case through personal appeal supported by non medical witnesses who confirm his healthy status. Following the examination of witnesses, the Protopriest Ioannis Voulgaris declares him 'free from the suffering of epilepsy and insanity and healthy in mind and reason'.²¹⁷

Unlike his predecessor ten years earlier, neither Protopriest Voulgaris nor his local cleric was in need of medical opinion as to the disputed affliction of Konstantinos Leisos. There were no references to natural causes or to providential and demonic forces. The matter was dealt with exclusively by religious authority acting within its jurisdiction granted by the Venetian State.

Nevertheless, Orthodox doctrine relating to daemonic impact on human health continued and included that of *βασκανία* (malign influence / evil eye). Church fathers accepted the notion of *φθόνος* (envy) as a cause enabling daemons to use the envious human as an instrument of affliction against their more fortunate or virtuous neighbours. The concept of *φθόνος* was thought to originate in the Creation and in particular the fall of Adam and Eve. According to Saint Basil of Caesaria, Eve's God-given tender and philanthropic nature made her particularly susceptible to temptation; the influence and jealousy of the

²¹⁶ Kapadochos, 'Η απονομή της δικαιοσύνης στην Κέρκυρα απο τους μεγάλους πρωτοπαπάδες την ενετική περίοδο (1604-1797' (The dispensation of justice in Kerkyra by the High Protopriests during the period of Venetian rule (1604-1797), p.418.

²¹⁷ Kapadochos, 'Η απονομή της δικαιοσύνης στην Κέρκυρα απο τους μεγάλους πρωτοπαπάδες την ενετική περίοδο (1604-1797' (The dispensation of justice in Kerkyra by the High Protopriests during the period of Venetian rule (1604-1797), p.421.

Devil, 'made her [Eve's] contentment with virtue into contentment with evil'.²¹⁸
 In traveller Pouqueville's experience, such Church doctrine was mirrored in eighteenth-century Greek society when even the name of the Evil-eye spirit terrified the most courageous:

'this invisible power is grieved at all prosperity...
 no one thinks of congratulating another upon
 having handsome children, and they carefully
 avoid admiring the beauty of a neighbour's horse,
 for the Evil-eye would very probably at the same
 instant afflict the children with leprosy, or the
 horses with lameness.'²¹⁹

For the wider Church, envy was not a trait confined to the female sex and, whether as a concept of jealousy or lack of contentment, came to be regarded as one of the most potent characteristics of the Devil and prime motive behind his onslaught upon the whole of the human race, irrespective of gender. Descriptions for the Devil included amongst others 'the father of envy' (ὁ τοῦ φθόνου πατήρ), and 'most evil envy' (ἀρχέκακος φθόνος).²²⁰ The following prayer for the Orthodox afflicted by *βασκανία* helps to illustrate official Church position in the matter:

We pray and beseech... banish from your servant
 all diabolical force...and the *βασκανία* of
 malevolent and wicked persons...induced by reason
 of beauty, valour, happiness, jealousy, envy...²²¹

Significantly, the Church rejected the notion that human power can cause 'healthy bodies which have bloomed... to melt away by those who have

²¹⁸ Quoted in Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology*, p. 42.

²¹⁹ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, pp. 129-130.

²²⁰ Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology*, p. 43.

²²¹ From an *Αγιασματάριον* of 1778 (book of selected Orthodox prayers and liturgies) edn N. P. Papadopoulos (Athens: Saliveros, 1970), p. 525, reprinted in the approved manual of Eastern Orthodox prayers *Εὐχολόγιον τό Μέγα*.

been jealous of them'.²²² The human eye being purely a means of vision cannot be evil in itself neither can humans cause harm by mere looks. Instead, a malign supernatural force of envy can enter one's soul that has weakened by jealousy to cause harm on others. Whilst accepting the existence of a supernatural force set in motion by human envy, the Church promoted the notion of envious daemons rather than humans as the root causes of misfortune and suffering. In theological Christian eyes the morbid feeling of envy was a sin and that can only be the work of the Devil.

At a vernacular level, other contemporary Orthodox Church ideas on disease, and in particular the aspects of physical suffering and pain, are revealed in the writings of the Cretan monk Agapios Landos (ca 1585 -1657). Landos was the most prolific Greek author of his generation with seventeen works relating mainly to religious subjects, but including *Γεωπονικόν*, a very popular agricultural and healing manual. Writing in 1868, the historian Konstantinos Sathas observed 'for over two centuries, Landos' numerous writings became the only reading matter for the unredeemed Greeks in a language understood by all'.²²³ Landos' work was easy to understand and had enormous appeal on the wider Orthodox community. The purpose and authority of his most popular volume, *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* (Sinners' Salvation), is clear from the title page: 'Sinners' Salvation, written in the common Greek dialect by Agapios the monk, a Cretan ascetic of the Holy Mountain of Athos'. The main themes of *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* elaborate aspects of sin, sorrow, rejection of the material world, an account of miracles attributed to the Virgin and incorporate religious concepts concerned with physical affliction.

Since Byzantine times, Mount Athos, a great Orthodox monastic centre at the north of the Greek peninsula, had been at the heart of Orthodox religious scholarship. Its monasteries accommodated the Orthodox communities of many nations and in 1312 it had come under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch in Constantinople. Under Ottoman rule, its Athonite School exerted a powerful

²²² Basil of Caesaria quoted in Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology*, p. 112; An extended analysis of the Orthodox position on *βασκανία* and its relationship with Greek pagan beliefs is offered by Mathew W. Dickie, 'The Fathers of the Church and the Evil Eye' in *Byzantine Magic*, ed. by H. Maguire (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), pp. 9-34.

²²³ Quoted in Kostoula, *Αγάπιος ο Λάνδος ο Κρης, Συμβολή στη Μελέτη του Έργου του* (Agapios Landos the Cretan, a contribution to the study of his work), p.15.

influence on intellectual Church doctrine and the spiritual outlook of the wider Orthodox congregation. Landos had spent a number of years in Mount Athos and his writings enjoyed the endorsement of the Church establishment. This is especially important for whilst Landos distils his material from Holy Scripture and familiar Western literature, he feels obliged to distance himself from the Western (Catholic) religious position:

if a phrase or word... in this or other book that I write
is not in accordance with the stipulation of the Church
of the Greeks, I will wipe it out, make it disappear.²²⁴

His loyalty to the precepts of the Eastern Church and their tacit approval of the opinions he expresses in his writings is beyond doubt.

In a concise chapter entitled 'Supplication for the sick and weak in body', Landos addresses the subject of 'why do we fall ill and experience pain?'. His writing style is that of a spiritual mentor interpreting sickness and suffering for the ordinary Orthodox Christians and guiding them towards making sense of their illness. Evidently, his personal philosophy is shaped by his firm eschatological beliefs in which the purpose of all the material world ultimately serves the final design: The end of time when, 'according to God's promise, a new heaven and a new earth will be created in which righteousness dwells' (*καινοὺς δὲ οὐρανοὺς καὶ γῆν καινὴν κατὰ τὸ ἐπ'ἀγγελμα αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶμεν, ἐν οἷς δικαιοσύνη κατοικεῖ*).²²⁵ Landos views sickness and its related pain as a means towards the 'healing of the soul' leading to the ultimate goal of redemption and in expectation of the Second Coming of the Lord.

In the matter of physical disease, he does not examine the probable physical causes of sickness. For him, pain is less of a diagnostic sign and more of a process of atonement. He concentrates on the spiritual and physical benefits to the Christian who is ready to comprehend the Divine logic of

²²⁴ A. Landos, *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* (Sinners' salvation) (Thessaloniki: Regopoulos, 2004), p. 17.

²²⁵ New Testament, II Peter 3. 13.

sickness and pain: a process leading to spiritual reward if only those who suffer can appreciate it as such. Without personal pain there'll be no spiritual gain. Importantly, in Landian terms, pain comprises both the unpleasant physical sensation caused by illness or injury as well as the emotional grief engendered by it. Clearly, he advocates a psychological and an ethical dimension to physical pain which, inevitably, connects it with morality and, ultimately, the Christian life. Falling ill, is not a matter of simple chance (*ἀπλῶς καί ὥς ἔτυχε*), but the Lord's will for the benefits it accrues for the human soul. In this sense, Landos affirms Divine providence as the cause of suffering and, simultaneously, offers a supporting argument. Citing the bible, he argues that it was Job's endurance of his afflictions, patience and perseverance rather than charitable deeds that merit the Lord's rewards. Interestingly, Landos interprets the (supernatural) Divine will by the use of a natural medical metaphor. To strengthen his argument and make it easier to grasp, he alludes to a familiar experience among his community borrowed from 'natural' medical practice: physical suffering to heal one's soul from sin, he contends, is similar to the widely used, bitter drink (cathartic) which cleanses the bad humours and heals the body.²²⁶ The potency of his message is apparent. His audience were ordinary, relatively uneducated folk and familiar with nature's ways and remedies. His explanation of the conceptual with the physical was clear to all.

Notably, Landos considers sickness and pain as a providential 'preventive and redeeming mechanism' to safeguard the indolent and the intemperate from further fall and bring them closer to salvation. In the view of the pious monk, health and bodily vigour frequently are expended in sinfulness whereas 'in sickness' one is unable or unwilling to commit a wicked act. Illness forces abstinence and denies prospects for excess to the sufferer: a divine gift and opportunity to inspect one's own conscience. Time in the sickbed, writes Landos, can be profitably expended upon reflexion of one's past misdemeanours and in repentance and prayer. Thus, pain and suffering are interpreted as both obstructive and creative forces serving to check further transgression and help the sinner convalesce physically and morally.

²²⁶ Landos, *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* (Sinners' salvation), p. 132.

Additionally, Landos suggests that disease and suffering make the human an imitator of the Saviour (*μιμητὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος*). As Christ's suffering led to humanity's salvation, so human suffering can lead the sick towards redemption. The prospect of following the model of Christ is of such significance that its contemplation alone is sufficient to expunge one's sense of affliction; the greater one's suffering, the closer to imitating Christ, sharing in the experience of (His) Crucifixion (*συσταύρωσις*) and glory in Paradise. Without a doubt, this was a powerful nostrum for the Orthodox pious and afflicted.

Commenting on the emotional pain and grief induced by death, Landos' polemic re-emphasises his eschatological views on humankind's destiny. In his *'Last (Εσχάτη) Supplication for one's dead'*, he compares earthly life to a gloomy and dark prison or a sea-tempest. He contrasts both with death as the onset of freedom or the arrival to a safe harbour. He admonishes one who grieves for the departed as 'without reason' and 'imprudent' (*ἔξω φρενῶν καὶ ἀσύνετος*).²²⁷ Evidently, for Landos dying the 'good death' was important, perhaps a sign of his discussions in early modern Italy.²²⁸

Landos drew upon the Bible and the writings of many religious authors from both sides of the religious divide embracing several elements of earlier religious interpretations of human suffering similar to those of the Venerable Bede (ca 672-735 CE).²²⁹ The extent to which Greek readers embraced his views in their entirety cannot be clearly determined. Evidently, *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* was a most popular read: First published in 1641, the work was reprinted in thirty-three further editions, twenty-two of which were published between 1703 and 1821, the year of the Greek revolution. It was also translated into Arabic, Romanian, Russian and a Turkish dialect (*karamanlidika*). However, inviting the Orthodox to thank God for His benevolence 'in cleansing one prematurely (from earthly existence) with a brief illness rather than sentencing him to everlasting damnation' would be a

²²⁷ Landos, *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* (Sinners' salvation), p.134.

²²⁸ Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy*, p.186.

²²⁹ David J. Melling, 'Suffering and Sanctification in Christianity', in *Religion, Health and Suffering*, ed. by John R. Hinnels and Roy Porter (London: Keegan Paul International, 1999), pp. 46-64 (p.48).

thorny notion to embrace for many in the Orthodox congregation, including the healthy amongst them.²³⁰ Significantly, reflecting contemporary perceptions of the pagan classical world amongst the Orthodox community, he accused those who grieve excessively as 'acting like ancient Greeks (*Ἕλληνας*) who have no hope of resurrection'.²³¹ Certainly, in the account of funerals in eighteenth-century Morea, Pouqueville observed that the immediate family of the deceased were in an obvious state of grieving and in the valleys of Arcadia 'the expressions of grief are much more natural'; indeed, the custom was to invite friends and relations to come and weep and 'neighbours to render this service reciprocally to each other'.²³² Reflecting the ancient custom, on certain times, friends and relations gathered at the grave to offer prayers and eat κόλλυβα (boiled wheat mixed with almonds).

Influenced by his Orthodox faith and learned religious background, Landos' ideas were in opposition to the human instinct for earthly survival and only one component within a much larger and complex set of popular beliefs that frequently competed against each other. Nevertheless, the popularity of *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* suggests that his subject matter, style and choice of the 'vernacular' language made a deep impression on the pious among his audience and gave new hope to the afflicted.

His narrative approach and its singular relationship with ordinary people were in tune with contemporary Orthodoxy and the fortitude with which it encouraged people to endure personal adversity: 'He that would have the rose must take the thorns' (Let us suffer with patience) and 'let us kiss the hand that we cannot cut off' (waiting for the hour of deliverance with courage) were two popular proverbs that came to the attention of the French physician Pouqueville in his travels to the region at the time.²³³ Most of the faithful were barely literate but familiar with the stories of the bible and susceptible to a language that could articulate such emotions and experiences. In Landos' words they found consolation and the Christian meaning for earthly pain and

²³⁰ Landos, *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* (Sinners' salvation), p.134.

²³¹ Landos, *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* (Sinners' salvation), p.135.

²³² Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p.155.

²³³ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 140.

suffering articulated in a language they understood. For them, few had spoken with such imagination, power and eloquence.

A similarly ethical - as opposed to physical - rationale on religious notions concerning human health unfolds with travellers' accounts of contemporary religious sensitivities relating to functions that are natural to the female body. The traveller and natural philosopher Tournefort noted 'They are too observant of the laws of nature in the Greek Church not to forbid the women entrance into their churches at certain times; they are obliged to remain at the door'.²³⁴ Tournefort's observations point to Orthodox canonical unease with women in menses and following childbirth, and have held true well into the twentieth century.²³⁵ In both cases women were considered 'unclean' and could not enter the church without certain ritual purification. Whilst discussions in these subjects were restricted by social custom, the doctrinal position was clear and the Orthodox community's response compliant. The religious canon originates in the Bible (Leviticus 15.19-25) where 'for all the days of the discharge [a woman] shall continue in uncleanness' and the Gospels (e.g. Luke 8. 43-48) where upon having the border of his garment touched by a woman 'issuing blood' Jesus said 'power has gone out of me' (ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ). The Orthodox Church categorised flow as 'natural' but deemed the female body 'unclean' (ακάθαρτον) requiring an interlude to allow 'cleansing' before permitting one to enter church or take part in Holy Communion.²³⁶ Naturally, in the prevailing social and cultural setting and the restrictive environment of the local church congregation, such notions had some degree of influence upon female sense of identity, a personal sense of 'difference', social division, relationship with one's own body and general social intercourse. They reveal underlying attitudes of female physical 'impairment' by which religious authority and community guidelines defined female notions of 'being not right'

²³⁴ Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, i, p.122.

²³⁵ Blum, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece*, p. 50.

²³⁶ *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων* (Constitution of the divine and holy canons), ed. by G. A. Rallis and M. Potlis, 6 vols (Athens: G. Hartofylax, 1852), i, p.119.

and social behaviour motivated from 'proper piety towards the Divine'.²³⁷ In addition, they highlight further Church notions on the causes of disease.

The long-held religious position on Tournefort's 'laws of nature' prompted canonical opinions on matters relating to sexual behaviour and disease introducing a moral dimension to disease and highlighting the complexity of the relationship between Orthodox religion and contemporary medical ideas and practices. Church fathers proposed that, by defining menstrual flow as 'unclean', sexual union during menses was against God's word and therefore sinful. It was to be avoided for reasons of male modesty, female honour, 'decency of natural law' (*αἰδῶ τοῦ νόμου τῆς φύσεως*) and above all the welfare of infants. According to canon law, children conceived during menses become 'weaker by nature, are subject to various diseases and [may] easily develop leprosy'.²³⁸

Landian and Church focus on such moral - as opposed to physical - dimensions of disease and 'indisposition' found a generally amenable audience amongst the Orthodox. Aspects of physical illness, pain and suffering were presented in an ethical framework making it difficult for the lay community to put an opposing view. As the name implies, the central theme of Landos' *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* (Sinners' salvation) was not a scientific enquiry into the natural causes of pain but the Christian road to salvation. The congregation appears to have received his exhortations in a spirit of piousness and with equanimity for there have not been any contemporary popular debates involving religious or lay scholars to offer a counter argument to Landos' work. As a consequence, the spiritualisation of the Orthodox household was invigorated. In tandem, and perhaps unwittingly, this outcome gave rise to popular resistance towards a more secular and rational view of disease. Future commentators and travellers to the region would witness community opposition to official measures for inoculation from smallpox or against the spread of plague.

At the elite level, intellectual encounters pertaining to Western European scientific development involved only the Greek scholarly elite. Given

²³⁷ Πηδάλιον (Rudder), pp. 548-549.

²³⁸ Πηδάλιον (Rudder), p. 548.

the socio-political environment, debates took place within a relatively confined learned community and across national borders. In the prevailing social landscape already heavily tested by Ottoman rule, scholarly debates involving the Orthodox Church focused on other philosophical ideas and the medium of Greek language rather than ideas about the causation of illness. Accordingly, with few exceptions in the Ionian Islands, the Greek community at large continued with its usual observance of religious and popular traditions well into the nineteenth century. Such patterns of behaviour were carried through to their religious therapeutic notions and concerns.

3.2 Healing miracle workers

Around June 1743, the island of Santa Mavra close to the west coast of the Greek mainland was hit by the plague. Subject to Venetian rule since 1684, the island administration enforced the strict quarantine regulations expected in the Serenissima's territories. Despite the coordinated efforts of the office of Provveditore Antonio Moro, by the following March, out of 3457 townspeople, 1028 had succumbed to the disease.²³⁹ Written in August of that year, the following is an extract from a letter of Spyridon Petritsopoulos, son of a local official, to his brother in Venice. It provides a lucid account of Orthodox community sensibilities at a time when all human efforts to contain and eradicate the contagion had been exhausted and the islanders threw themselves on God's mercy for protection against their dreadful fate:

Dear brother,
 in my previous letter I described the hecatomb...from the
 last count some 1500 persons have perished... for the
 survivors there is no hope of salvation unless the Blessed
 Virgin softens the justifiable anger of Her Son. It is in this
 spirit that everyone prays with bitter tears...
 it seems that the Blessed One [Virgin] lent a favourable ear
 to the prayers of the faithful because [She] inspired
 the authorities to allow the admission into the island of
 the celebrated sacred relics of Saint Vissarion, miracle worker

²³⁹ K.G. Macheras, *Ἡ Λευκὰς ἐπὶ Ἐνετοκρατίας 1684-1797* (Santa Mavra under Venetian Occupation 1684-1797), (Athens: n. pub., 1951), p. 110.

and great saint... Because of this, you can imagine the faith and hope of us all as, in suspense, we look forward to the restoration of our health.²⁴⁰

The words of Petritsopoulos are especially revealing in their emotional response and in that Orthodox sense of physical proximity and belief in God's influence on the affairs of mankind. Only divine rage against man's sinful behaviour can cause such devastation; only saintly mediation can rescue the faithful from a terrible end. St Vissarion's relic has become the focus of all hope and anticipation in its journey from the monastery of Douskos in Epirus. In the writer's eyes, any chance of salvation now rests with Vissarion, miracle worker and great saint.

Since early Byzantine times, the importance of sacred relics and prayers for saintly intercession to help the faithful have been at the core of Orthodox community beliefs: 'every place is glorified and hallowed by your remains; your protection shines out over all the earth' praised bishop Basil's sermon on the proto-martyr St Stephen and his miraculous relics in fifth century CE.²⁴¹ St Vissarion and St Stephen are just two of the great number of saints to whom the Orthodox flock turned in times of danger from disease. Their admission into sainthood did not follow a formal procedure by the Orthodox Church. Peoples' appreciation of a holy life and witnessing of miracles were sufficient to introduce a revered personage to the Orthodox communion of saints.

Besides the Holy Trinity and Virgin, all Orthodox saints had the power to ease the suffering of the faithful. There were saints protecting those at sea, watching over the folk engaged in a specific trade, helping to bring a successful harvest and helping the afflicted. For the Orthodox faithful saints cured the sick by prayer, exorcism, the use of objects associated with the saint (relics, parts of the saint's article of clothing, lamp oil or candle wax from the saint's tomb). Whilst all saints had the power to assist in times of sickness, a number were gifted by God to cure specific ailments.

²⁴⁰ Quoted in Macheras, *Ἡ Λευκὰς ἐπὶ Ἐνετοκρατίας 1684-1797* (Santa Mavra under Venetian Occupation 1684-1797), pp.111-112.

²⁴¹ E.D. Hunt, 'The Traffic in Relics: some Late Roman Evidence' in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. by Sergei Hackel (London: Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1981), pp. 171-180 (p.171).

Often a saint's healing speciality would relate to the vernacular sound of his/her name and its association with a particular health subject. Hence, St Eleftherios, with a name sound close to 'freedom' would be especially venerated by expectant mothers who sought the saint's assistance for a trouble-free pregnancy and delivery.²⁴² Similarly, St Jacob (Ιάκωβος) was approached by those with a hearing problem, St Hermogenes (Ερμολόγης) by those with painful joints and St Spyridon (Σπυρίδων) for relief from a troublesome spot (σπυρί).²⁴³

A small number of saints held particularly esteemed places for their miraculous intercession in matters of health. They included St Charalambos to whom the faithful appealed in time of contagion, St Paraskevi for ailments related to one's eyes, St Stylianos protector of orphans and sick children. At the pinnacle of Orthodox healing sainthood stand those referred as *Ἀνάργυροι*, literally the 'un-silvered' ones for their practice of asking no other reward for their healing services but belief in Christ. Foremost in that group of twenty are the physicians and brothers Kosmas and Damianos from Asia Minor and Panteleimon, 'saintly champion and healer'. The words of the psalm dedicated to these exceptional healer-saints evoke the hopes of every Orthodox in healing prayer: 'Saints Ἀνάργυροι and miracle workers, look at our afflictions, the gift you received gift unto us'.²⁴⁴ Reflecting these saints' lofty healing reputation among the Orthodox, many churches were built in their honour including the monasteries north of the Parthenon in Athens, Chanea in Crete, Mylopotamos in Kastoria and the number of healing springs named after them. Reverence for these saints was closely bound up with the feast day and celebrations in their honour and the veneration of their icons which featured in many homes, connecting the past with the present and bringing the faithful into direct and instant involvement with the Orthodox healing pantheon. (Illustration 7) The saints are depicted in fine attire reflecting popular notions on a physician's position in society. In the left hand of St

²⁴² Megas, *Ζητήματα Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφίας* (*Aspects of Greek Folklore*), issue 3, [1942-1949], (Athens: Academy of Athens, 1975), 1-64 (p. 7).

²⁴³ Megas, *Ζητήματα Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφίας* (*Aspects of Greek Folklore*), issue 3, [1942-1949] 1-64 (pp. 7, 32).

²⁴⁴ E. Lekkos, *Ἅγιοι Ἀνάργυροι* (Saints Anargiri) (Athens: Saitis, n.d.), p.2.

Kosmas is a surgical lancet with handle in the shape of the cross, possibly of the type with an opening to receive different types of surgical instruments. In his right hand the saint holds a case for the storage of surgical equipment. St Damianos is featured with a surgical spatula and open medicine box. In addition, the saint carries a leather or basket container, possibly containing a glass phial for the examination of urine, a popular diagnostic medical procedure at the time.

Three other saints of special importance to the Orthodox community were located in the Ionian Islands and were worshiped for their diverse miraculous healing. St Dionysios was officially proclaimed patron saint and protector of the island of Zante in 1724. Born into a ruling class family in 1546, he is said to have been baptised by no less a godfather than Gerasimos of Kefalonia, who was himself destined to become the venerated saint of that island and famous for assisting those with mental health problems. According to the saint's *συναξάριον* (life of the saint), forsaking the advantages of his noble birth, Dionysios pursued an ascetic and learned life, which culminated in his assuming senior church positions in mainland Greece and, in later life, the island of his birth. He died in December 1622. Since 1720, his preserved remains have been kept in the imposing island church bearing his name. Miracles attributed to the saint abound. Of special interest because of its unusual combination of miraculous and natural therapeutic intercession is 'the dream of the faithful woman'.

In answer to a faithful woman's prayers for a boy child, the saint is said to have appeared in her dream in the guise of a bishop. His instructions were that 'she was to drink from a potion made with the plant *ἀμάρακος* (*amarakos*) plus another to be found behind the sacred gate of the church in the small island of Strofades, the Saint's hermitage during the 16th century.²⁴⁵ Through prayer and faith, assisted by natural medication at the suggestion of the Saint, the woman was blessed with a baby boy; divine help and natural remedy combined for the benefit of the faithful and a miracle greatly celebrated in the church bearing the Saint's name in the island of Zante. (Illustration 8) This is not the only occasion when natural and supernatural healing agents combined

²⁴⁵ Quoted in *Paintings of Saint Dionysios' miracles* (Zakynthos: Holy monastery of Strofades and St. Dionysios, n.d.), p.25.

for the benefit of the sufferer. Among the miracles attributed to the fourteenth-century saint and Patriarch Athanasios is the miracle of Meletios Poteras: The use of a drug 'which wards off evil spirits and all suffering... blended with prayers' freed Meletios from his demonic possession.²⁴⁶

In the holiest shrine on the island of Corfu rest the Holy Relics of St Spyridon, patron saint of that island, still in a remarkable state of preservation after sixteen centuries. Born in the second half of the third century, St Spyridon came to prominence during the historic first ecumenical council of Nicaea in 325 AD.²⁴⁷ He was influential in the Council's debates against the Arian doctrine regarding the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Following his death, he was buried in Cyprus. His relics were moved to Constantinople in the seventh century and, following the Ottoman conquest, to Corfu around 1456. The miracles attributed to St Spyridon are endless. Often they involve manifestations of his healing powers such as that relating to the blind man Theodoros who had his sight restored.²⁴⁸ Of particular note is a miracle affirmation by the Corfiot Nikiforos Theotokis (1731-1800), a physician, graduate of Padua and Bologna and leading thinker of the Greek Enlightenment. Nikiforos Theotokis relates St Spyridon's intercession in the miracle of a possessed woman: during a Palm Sunday litany - since 1630, a special event commemorating the delivery of the island from the plague by the saint's intercession:-

a woman possessed by demonic spirits, frothing
from the mouth and grinding her teeth...with a
changed voice... some times like an ox other times
like a howling dog or crying as an infant.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Constantelos, 'The Interface of Medicine and Religion' p. 11.

²⁴⁷ For extensive biographical details on St Spyridon see A.C. Tsitsas, *Ὁ Ἱερός Σπυρίδων* (The Holy Spyridon) (Kerkyra: n. pub., 1967); L. Vrokinis, *Περὶ τῶν ἐτησίως τελομένων ἐν Κέρκυρα λιτανειῶν τοῦ θείου λειψάνου τοῦ Ἁγίου Σπυρίδωνος* (Regarding the annual litany of the divine relic of St Spyridon in Kerkyra) (Kerkyra: Ermis, 1893).

²⁴⁸ Tsitsas, *Ὁ Ἱερός Σπυρίδων* (The Holy Spyridon), p. 43, writes that the miracle is celebrated every 13th July in a church built especially in the suburb of Sarokon, Corfu, to commemorate that event.

²⁴⁹ Quoted by Tsitsas, *Ὁ Ἱερός Σπυρίδων* (The Holy Spyridon), pp. 44-45; the account is given by Nikiforos Theotokis in his book *'On Wisdom'* published in Leipzig in 1766.

According to the account, she was laid upon the ground in order that the holy relic could pass over her three times, the sign of the Holy Trinity. In the eyes of the learned Theotokis, approaching the saint with faith compensated for human powerlessness to obtain cure through natural therapy. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the French Consul to the island of Corfu, A. Grasset Saint-Sauver, provided a remarkably vivid description of the commemoration and healing purpose of the Palm Sunday litany and celebrations. Throughout the previous week the bells were ringing. On the day of the procession, attended by the patricians, clergy and most of the island's people, the windows of the houses along the route were decorated with colourful tapestries. The sound of canon from the castle and navy ships, bells, and makeshift fireworks accompanied the clamour of the crowd, hymnal singing and the cries of the sick. While the wider populace paid their respects, the church of St Spyridon was full of sick people pleading for cure. During the street procession the afflicted lay on the ground praying for saintly intercession as the reliquary passed over them.²⁵⁰ In Illustration 9, the procession emerges from St. Vasili Street. The windows of the buildings are decorated and in the foreground fireworks are exploded. In the front of the procession the sick lay on the ground waiting for the relics of the saint to pass over them and a kneeling mother, with infant in her arms, entreats the Saint for cure.

As with the major islands of Zante and Corfu, St Gerasimos in the other large island of the Ionian sea, Kefalonia, occupied the primary place in the Orthodox healing pantheon for assisting those with a mental disorder. Born ca 1506, Gerasimos' long ascetic life culminated in the creation of a monastery - New Jerusalem - at Omala in Kefalonia around 1561. Following his death in 1579, his relics were found un-decayed and in the view of the Orthodox community possessing curative powers, particularly the gift of casting out evil spirits. 'Demons are taken away, the sick are healed, the evil of plague vanishes' goes the verse from the Vespers Service dedicated to the Saint.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ Simopoulos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα*, (Foreign Travellers to Greece), ii, pp. 510-511.

²⁵¹ Konstantinos G. Gelis, *Ο Άγιος Γεράσιμος Κεφαλληνίας* (St Gerasimos of Kefalonia) (Athens: Moni Ag. Gerasimou, 1978), p.131.

St. Gerasimos was canonised in 1622. His death was commemorated in the island on 16th August each year when the number of pilgrims to his shrine swelled by the arrival of the *Δαιμονισμένοι* (those subject to mental affliction perceived as demonic possession), escorted by relatives from the other islands and the mainland across the water. Often they were placed at the church for a night vigil, echoing the ancient practice of incubation at the temple of Asklepios. The sacred chest with the preserved body of the saint was placed upright to allow for the faithful to pay their respects to the sound of the cries of the 'possessed', and the bishop's prayer for the sick: 'Lord command the deceitful and unclean spirits and demons to depart from the souls and bodies of these your servants'.²⁵² The saint's Apolytikion, a psalm sang or said when the Orthodox priest approaches the altar for Eucharist, offers further acknowledgement to the saint's miraculous power and the congregation's belief in the demonic:

O believers, let us praise the protector of the Orthodox,
the God-bearing miracle-worker lately appearing to us,
the incarnate angel, divine Gerasimos. For he has rightly
received from God the ever-flowing grace of performing
healing. He strengthens those with diseases and he heals
those with demons. And therefore he pours out healings
to those who honor him.²⁵³

Orthodox belief was that during the ritual of a religious procession with sacred icons or relics, the power of the saint and exorcism, the passage of the revered objects over the sick and touching or ingesting holy objects could cure the sick or overcome evil spirits and other contagion. All saints shared in the epithet of *θαυματουργός* (thaumaturge), performers of miracles and workers of wonders.²⁵⁴ Hence, in the language of 'miracles' the word *θαυματουργός* is identified with 'ritual' and best exemplified in Orthodox saints' litanies, events of

²⁵² Dimitrios S. Loukatos, *Κεφαλονίτικη Λατρεία* (Kefalonian Worship), (Athens: n. pub., 1946), p. 229, part of St. Chrysostom's prayer of exorcism offered on behalf of the sick during the litany.

²⁵³ 'Gerasimos of Kefalonia', The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, <<http://www.goarch.org/en/chapel/saints.asp?contentid=250>> [accessed 11 November 2007].

²⁵⁴ Origin from Greek *thauma* 'miracle' and *ergos* 'working'.

pomp and circumstance that induced wonder and an extreme level of emotional involvement among the faithful. In the Orthodox arena for healing cures, irrespective of the causes of disease, the Holy Trinity, Virgin and saints represented sources of hope and their miraculous intercessions deeply inculcated into Orthodox mentality. In his *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* (Sinners' Salvation) Landos offers detailed accounts of numerous miracles attributed to the 'All-praised Mother of God' (*Παννυμνήτου Θεομήτορος*).²⁵⁵ Of special note are those associated with her other epithet as *Ζωοδόχος Πηγή* (Life-giving Fount) and her representation related to a sacred spring as that in Baloukli near Constantinople. The miraculous connection of healing waters and the Mother of God found expression in popular iconography depicting the holy personage and a number of healing miracles. (Illustration 10) Icons of the genre were found throughout Orthodox lands and believed to be blessed with healing powers. The seventeenth-century example held at the Wellcome Library shows a number of indentations on the icon surface, indicative of the belief and practice of ingesting pieces of the icon to bring cure to the sick.

Of course, not everyone within Orthodox society was willing to share in the common faith of miraculous saintly cures. Belief was heart felt; any attempts to intellectualize the miraculous intervention of long-gone Christian martyrs into the material world or search for natural proof went against popular assumptions and official Church position. In the last page of *Sinners' Salvation* next to the end-quote of the main work ('by the Grace of God the End of *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρίας*') the following entry censures those who doubt, and guides clergy as to the recommended punishment:

To those who do not accept wholeheartedly and
with clear faith the wonderful miracles of our Saviour...
and other Saints... but seek proof by experiment
or for reasons of sophistry suggest miracles as
impossible or misinterpret as they see fit and urge
others to similar views; Anathema.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Landos, *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* (Sinners' Salvation), pp. 320-442.

²⁵⁶ Landos, *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* (Sinners' Salvation), p. 442. It is uncertain whether this text was a Landian entry or inserted by others with his knowledge. It claims to be an interpretation

Belief in miraculous healing was a central tenet of Christian Orthodox worship and those who opposed it were subject to the heaviest sentence: public exclusion from the Church. Recalling his experience in the Morea, Pouqueville observed 'every Greek trembles at the sound of an excommunication for, if he be once struck with this anathema, he finds himself immediately abandoned by his family, thenceforward he is an outcast from them, and all Christians who know him shun him'.²⁵⁷ For the readers of *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* the final page was a well-timed and unforgiving reminder that unquestioning belief in saintly cures was their religious duty.

3.3 Pastoral care and therapy

...more numerous than in any other Christian country...
 you see in Greece ten or twelve monks or papas to one
 layman. This multitude of the clergy is certainly the
 occasion of the vast number of Chapels that are in Greece,²⁵⁸

Even if Tournefort's numbers are inclined to exaggeration, the large number of local Orthodox priests (*papas*) within the community points to their influential attendance in the daily lives of fellow Christians. According to Holland, Kythera's population of 9000 was serviced by 165 priests and no fewer than 260 churches or chapels of different descriptions.²⁵⁹ Around the same time, Corfu's Orthodox clerics numbered 385 for a population of some 45000 souls many of whom attended services in 584 Orthodox places of worship.²⁶⁰ Church concern for the 'psychosomatic' care of the Orthodox flock 'from cradle to grave' was reflected in its provision of sufficient and immediate pastoral and therapeutic care for the faithful. The local *papas* acted as the key link with the congregation and helped extend the role of the church beyond the spiritual and social to the sickbed, thereby bringing closer the physical and intellectual proximity of religion with medicine and the physician.

of Orthodox Canon Law and included both in the D. Theodosiou edition of 1764 and the Rigopoulou edition of 2004 which is 'based on the Venice edition of 1851'.

²⁵⁷ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 149.

²⁵⁸ Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, i, p. 120.

²⁵⁹ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, p. 43.

²⁶⁰ Vlassopoulos, *Στατιστικά Ιστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις* (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), pp. 33, 63, 64.

The health-related function of local clergy followed distinct avenues. The range of sacred services and blessings authorised by the institutional Orthodox Church included the sacrament of *Εὐχέλαιο* (Holy Unction), a healing ritual offering therapeutic hope to a parishioner. The ritual of *Εὐχέλαιο* is one of the seven 'Mysteries' of the Orthodox Church by which Divine Grace is transferred to those ill and others among the faithful through the anointing of the 'blessed oil' by the priest. 'Great are the benefits of this right upon both soul and body' observed St Symeon (1410-1429).²⁶¹ The Orthodox cleric could administer the sacrament of *Εὐχέλαιο* by the bed of those who were sick praying for cure 'from any physical and mental illness residing in the person' whilst anointing the patient with the oil.²⁶² According to Tournefort, priests

usually anoint only the forehead, cheeks, chin,
and hands of the sick... afterwards with the same
liquor they daub all the rooms in the house, all the
while repeating prayers and draw great crosses
upon the walls and doors, while they sing...²⁶³

Exorcism was another Orthodox healing ritual requiring the involvement of the eighteenth-century clerical community. The Orthodox view held firmly to the existence of the devil, as the cause of evil, human deception and, at times, disease. In line with New Testament instruction, 'heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils' and 'in my name shall they cast out devils', Orthodox Church Fathers empowered local priests to act as healing agencies and exorcists.²⁶⁴ Hence, to provide a more localised alternative to that of the renowned monastery of St Gerasimos in Kefalonia or the church of St Angelos at Tripolitza – which were held in high repute for exorcism - priests were provided with the *Μέγα Εὐχολόγιον* (Orthodox Book of Prayers) which contained prayers of exorcism by Saint Basil and Saint John Chrysostom. In the act of exorcism the devil was renounced and commanded to release the

²⁶¹ Quoted in Constantelos, 'The Interface of Medicine and Religion' p. 12.

²⁶² *Μικρόν Εὐχολόγιον* (Small Prayer book), ed. by Apostoliki Diakonia (Athens: Apostoliki Diakonia, 1956), p. 157.

²⁶³ Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, i, p.133.

²⁶⁴ New Testament, Matthew 10. 8, Mark 16. 17.

possessed by the power of the Almighty and the Lord Jesus Christ. In the powerful language of the ritual performed by the priest and the supercharged emotional experience of those participating in the act, no member of the community was left in any doubt as to the immediacy of satanic power, its capacity to inflict suffering on people, and the unique position of the Church to bring deliverance to the afflicted. Popular belief in the presence of the demonic was such that, often, Orthodox priests would be invited to exorcise property as well hypochondriacs, maniacs and idiots.²⁶⁵

The offer of 'petitional' prayers was a ritual frequently employed by the priest in the service of his ailing flock. Church teaching on the subject of divine providence accepted that God might on His own wish to intervene in earthly affairs to the benefit of the pious praying Christian: 'Lord... give ear unto my voice, when I cry unto thee. Let my prayer be set forth before thee'.²⁶⁶ In the *Εὐχολόγιον* the Orthodox Priest accessed authorised prayers for many aspects of eighteenth-century community life including the harvest, rain, threat of thunder and lightening and the foundations of a new home. As a general 'Prayer for ever illness', it recommended: 'Heavenly Father, physician of our souls and bodies..., visit in your mercy and heal your servant'.²⁶⁷ Reflecting the importance of healing intercession to the divine by the Church agency health-related prayers included:

- a) Prayers for those afflicted by the power of evil spirits
- b) Prayer for those in the agony of death
- c) Prayers in time of contagion
- d) Prayer for the mother on the first day of the birth
- e) Exorcisms

The health-related role of the Orthodox cleric extended from cure to prevention and from spiritual to secular affairs. The threat of contagion is a case in point. Following rumours of the plague appearing in the trading port of Galaxidi and the mainland in 1743, Provveditore Piero Balbi asked for the assistance of the Orthodox prelate in the island of Corfu. In his encyclical, under the threat of excommunication, Protopriest Kapadokas called for his local

²⁶⁵ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p.150.

²⁶⁶ Old Testament, Psalms 141. 1-2.

²⁶⁷ *Εὐχολόγιον τό Μέγα* (Large Prayer Book), p. 230.

clerics to submit lists with the names of all persons who were absent from the island 'speedily and without time delay in order that upon their return those absent do not cause infection from such destructive contagion.'²⁶⁸ The authorities were naturally fearful that absent citizens would try to avoid the inconvenience of a forty day stay in the *Lazaretto* (place of quarantine) and potentially contaminate the island with the epidemic. In terms of medical pluralism, Corfiot clergy assumed the roles of state health officials.

In contrast, the following extract from a British surgeon's report on an outbreak of the plague in Corfu shows how, occasionally, the potent combination of uneducated priesthood and religious practice had a serious impact on the health of the congregation. In 1813 J.D. Tully was surgeon to the British forces, member of the Ionian Academy, inspector of quarantine and president of the Board of Health for the Ionian Islands. He wrote:

A fever in Leftimo had broken out so far back as the 15th of the previous month. Already 13 out of a population of 50 had died...nor will it appear extra-ordinary that the existence of the disease in the interior was so long concealed from the government when the geographical position of the village and the religious prejudices of the people are considered...seven or eight *papas* (priests) from various villages had a day or two previous to my first visit to Marathia assembled in that unfortunate village to assist the inhabitants in a religious ceremony to appease the angry spirit to whose influence they attributed the whole of their sufferings... the disease was traced step by step to the residence of every individual who had assisted in the ceremony...priests' robes had been sent into a box and deposited under the altar to avoid being expurgated... over 300 fell victim.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ HAC, High Protopriests, MS 52, fols 847^r - 851^r

²⁶⁹ J.D. Tully, *The history of plague as it has lately appeared in the islands of Malta, Gozo, Corfu, &c. : detailing important facts, illustrative of the specific contagion of that disease, with particulars of the means adopted for its eradication* (London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821), pp. 87-105.

Nevertheless, with physical living conditions and perceived spiritual forces continuing to threaten the health of the flock, local clerics' services for trusted paths to therapy were in high demand. They included both supernatural and secular medicine. Indeed, clerical involvement in popular medicine was not rare. Referring to traditional medicine Baron Emmanouil Theotokis, confirmed it was also practiced by the priesthood.²⁷⁰ *Papas* Manolis Furlanos (d. ca 1818), a cleric from the village of Vourlikas in the island of Santa Mavra (Lefkas), was such a cleric offering religious, natural and magico-religious healing to his congregation. His personal records of therapeutic remedies were copied by P. Kontomichis in his account of popular healing practices in the island. In addition to the liturgical therapeutic armoury provided to him by the official Church, *papa-Furlanos'* personal notes contain preparations based on herbal ingredients, eight apotropaic incantations and two *Προλήψεις* from a *καλαντολόγιο*, that is, astrological predictions for specific dates of the year originating in Byzantine times 'for the maintenance of health and prosperity'.²⁷¹ According to the cleric's notes

If the feast day of St Basil falls on a Sunday,
the sun rules... with a good winter, good crops...
and the child to be born in such a year, on a Sunday,
grows to become big. If on a Monday... many bad
winds, a dry summer and death among the children...²⁷²

In relation to natural afflictions *Papa-Furlanos'* herbal preparations treated:

- Headache
- Tummy swelling
- Scabies
- Snake-bite
- Excess wind
- Nosebleed

²⁷⁰ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, p. 45; writing in French, from the Greek *empeirikos*, from *empeiria* 'experience'.

²⁷¹ P. Kontomichis, *Η Λαϊκή Ιατρική Στη Λευκάδα* (Popular Medicine in Lefkada), (Athens: Gregoris, 1988), p. 61.

²⁷² Kontomichis, *Η Λαϊκή Ιατρική Στη Λευκάδα* (Popular Medicine in Lefkada), p. 217.

- Dandruff ('bran speckles' in the head)
- Pain of the Spleen
- Carbuncles
- Excessive female bleeding
- Dog-bite
- Pain in eyes

The written quasi-religious incantations offered treatments for:

- 'Every pain'
- Inflammation of the cornea (for *ρίμμα* and pain in the eyes)
- Rheumatics
- Women in difficult labour
- Malaria (*θέρμη* [*thermi*] heat)

The following incantation passage for malaria is typical of the genre:

St John, Honest Prodrome (forerunner) and Baptist
of Christ ... assist God's servant X, Archangels
Michael and Gabriel help from ague secondary, tertian,
quartan. στ, μ, λ, στ, μ, μ, τ, φ, θ, α, μ, ...'.²⁷³

It is thought that the Greek letters in the incantation are the acronym of secret words forming a mystical prayer known only to the priest and similar to those frequently encountered in iatrosophic manuscripts (popular healing manuals) of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such incantations were in common usage and outside authorised Church prayers. Significantly, the Fourlanos herbal remedies include instructions for a potion to release a married couple from *ἀμπόδεμα*, which is suspected *maleficium* to influence a marital relationship. The practice was against Orthodox religious law, as Canon 36 of the Laodicea Synod forbids clerics from engaging in magic and astrology (*ἐπαοιδούς εἶναι, ἢ μαθηματικούς, ἢ ἀστρολόγους*).²⁷⁴

Mirroring Byron Good's 'semantic networks', that is 'words, situations and symptoms' to describe disease, most of papa Fourlanos terms for the diseases are described by the symptoms that give meaning to both his patients

²⁷³ Kontomichis, *Η Λαϊκή Ιατρική Στη Λευκάδα* (Popular Medicine in Lefkada), p. 216.

²⁷⁴ *Πηδάλιον* (Rudder), p.434.

and him as their healer.²⁷⁵ Thus, “‘bran speckles” in the head’ is his best way of describing dandruff and *θέρμη* (heat) the popular term for malaria. Eighteenth-century clerical healing among the Orthodox encompassed a plurality of practices engaged both in pastoral care and treatments for sickness. Its offerings span supernatural cures and natural remedies. Importantly, the demarcation of natural or supernatural therapies, officially approved or irregular, was a subject scarcely occupying the congregation. As the centuries-long practices show, the cleric was the authority on such matters and they would receive his therapeutic offering whatever its source and in good faith. In some respects these Orthodox priests were similar to their post-Reformation English counterparts who combined their religious functions with the practice of medicine and used methods similar to those employed by folk healers. According to Robert Burton ‘many poor country vicars, for want of other means, are given to ... turn mountebanks, quacksalvers, empirics’ forcing the authorities to act against the clerical use of charms and amulets.²⁷⁶

3.4 Prayers, vows and amulets.

The three deeply individual acts of prayer, votive offering, and carrying of religious objects for protection against disease emphasize the profound relationship between the Greek community and religious healing. (Illustration 11) In the face of testing circumstances and a heightened sense of one’s mortality, the Orthodox congregation turned to the Church and these God-given paths for protection against disease. Whether as pleas for a healing intercession, protection against misfortune or expressions of gratitude, prayer and healing vows have long associations with Eastern Christian worship.

The challenge to describing ‘prayer as a whole’ falls outside the scope of this paper. Besides, in the context of individual healing prayers, one encounters the almost total lack of contemporary material due to the private and silent nature of invocations by Orthodox men and women. In the rare case of Petritsopoulos’ letter quoted above, we can glean some aspects of the language of common folk in their hour of need; expressions of grave concern,

²⁷⁵ Quoted in Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy*, p. 184.

²⁷⁶ Quoted in Keith Thomas, *Religion and the decline of Magic, Studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England* (London: Penguin, 1971), p. 328.

interwoven with words of supplication, praise and hope for deliverance. Yet, Versnel observes, 'a silent prayer can also express intimacy, familiarity and trust in the deity'.²⁷⁷ These are characteristics that epitomize the highly religious milieu of eighteenth-century Orthodox culture and the close and personal relationship of the Greek congregation with divinity. An important outcome of the veneration of icons in Eastern Christendom was to create for the believer a sense of immediacy with the saints. Their icons were placed and worshiped not only in the churches but in every home thereby helping to transform remote figures into revered acquaintances to whom one could turn in the hour of need.

The private nature of personal healing prayer was followed by the public expression of gratitude upon one's recovery from an illness. The fulfilment of a vow - the act of a votive offering - is a public ritual of worship; open, visible and praiseful of an omnipotent and philanthropic God responding to the pious and needy among the flock. Significantly, the practice of offering votive objects mirrors the traditions and continuities with classical antiquity. (Illustration 12) Known as *τάμα* (tama), the word for a votive act, relates to a personal 'promise to God or some other holy person to dedicate an object or perform a penance in reciprocation for the realisation of a wish'.²⁷⁸ There were many words in demotic Greek for this popular practice including *ἀφιερώματα* (dedications), *κρεμαστάρια* (literally 'those to hang' taken from the practice of suspending the votive object from an icon or church oil-lamp) and *κονομίσματα* (objects of value obtained by personal sacrifice). Hence the act is invested with a range of meanings describing an object, promise, obligation, sacrifice, specific performance, a personal and intimate exchange with the supernatural and a devout act 'developed within the framework of religion and activated in relation to faith and divine presence'.²⁷⁹ In this process, the *τάμα*

²⁷⁷ H. S. Versnel, 'Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer' in *Faith, Hope and Worship; aspects of religious mentality in the ancient world*, ed. by H. S. Versnel (Leiden: Brill, 1981), p. 26.

²⁷⁸ Babinotis, *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* (Dictionary of the New Greek Language), p. 1736; from Greek *τάσσω* 'place where I must'.

²⁷⁹ Handaka, *Tokens of Worship*, p. 13. One of three detailed studies of modern votive offerings; see Lekakis, *Τάματα και αναθήματα* (Votive offerings), and Handaka's 'Anthropological reflections on Greek Orthodox votive offerings (*τάματα*) with reference to the

assumes a value beyond that of the precious, artistic or insignificant votive object: in the eyes of the faithful, *and the Church*, this is a sacred relationship between the human and the divine in a reciprocal exchange that surpasses the mundane by trusting one's deliverance from sickness to the power of the saint.

Originally condemned by the Orthodox Church, the practice was gradually embraced for after all a *τάμα* was public revelation of saintly intercession – and proof – of Christian miracles. Reflecting the suppleness of the Orthodox Church's position in the matter, Father Georgios Metallinos recently observed 'God is *ἀνευδεής* (deprived of nothing) and has no need of any material offer by man... other than offering one's self to the fountain of grace' and in tandem 'the Church rejected nothing that might be canonically absorbed, rather tried to imbue it with its own substance and discard whatever was essentially contrary to Christian truth'.²⁸⁰ In affirming the practice in his eighteenth-century commentary on the subject of votive undertakings (*ταξίματα*) and Orthodox canon law, St Nikodemos of Mount Athos recommended 'those who in time of need make promises to God... are obliged to discharge them ...in full and without postponement for they would commit great sin (*μεγάλως ἁμαρτάτουν*).'²⁸¹ Over time, such canonical interpretation turned into Orthodox community sentiment and was expressed in popular proverbs: 'never promise to a saint a candle and to a child a sweet'.²⁸²

Offerings for protection against sickness related to personal sacrifices or material objects. The former category included intense fasting and genuflecting whilst material offers reflected one's personal means. Hence, in the testing living conditions of eighteenth-century Orthodox community, they ranged from simple oil and a candle for church use, to one's precious possessions and church objects of high value such as icons, candle sticks, oil lamps and other ceremonial objects. Since antiquity, especially popular votive

Mikes Paidousis Collection' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, St. Cross College, 2005).

²⁸⁰ Quoted in Lekakis, *Τάματα και αναθήματα* (Votive offerings), p.11, and Handaka, *Tokens of Worship*, p. 26.

²⁸¹ *Πηδάλιον* (Rudder), p. 609

²⁸² Lekakis, *Τάματα και αναθήματα* (Votive offerings), p. 15.

objects relating to health were effigies – in clay, silver or gold – representing human figures and the specific body parts that were in need of divine protection.

In the matter of amulets, since biblical times, phylacteries (*φυλακτήρια*) were thought to provide protection to the wearer from illness and the malevolent influence of evil spirits.²⁸³ *Φυλακτά* in the vernacular, were actively encouraged by the Orthodox Church and were becoming increasingly popular in the Byzantine era. It was said that the *Βασιλεύς* (King) took oaths on such objects.²⁸⁴ The Orthodox Church distinguished between magical amulets and charms and Christian phylacteries in that the latter were 'not in themselves powerful objects, but holy vehicles assisting the wearer towards the knowledge of God and reminding him of the all powerful presence of the Lord, from whom the faithful can receive relief.'²⁸⁵ These were points with dialectic nuances manifestly beyond the comprehension of the congregation or for that matter the ordinary Orthodox clergy of the eighteenth-century. According to Saint Sauver, there was high demand in Corfu for articles that touched Saint Spyridon's reliquary. They included candles, kerchiefs, and ribbons.²⁸⁶ Importantly, in eighteenth-century Morea religious phylacteries (*φυλακτήρια*) were essential to the priesthood to supplement their meagre earnings:

very much from the custom of sanctifying the water, from benedictions...and the sale of amulets;... some verses of the gospel tied up in a little bag hung around the neck. A number of these things are also sold to be ready for use in case of any emergency...if they happen to fail of success, the fault is not in those who sold them, but want of faith in those by whom they were applied.²⁸⁷

²⁸³ From the Greek *φυλάσσω* 'to guard'. In New Testament, Matthew 23.5, Christ admonishes the Pharisees for the way they wore them. They were little boxes attached to the forehead and left arm, near the heart, containing parchment with biblical texts.

²⁸⁴ Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὴν Βίον καὶ Πολιτισμὸν* (Byzantine Life and Civilisation), iii, p. 370.

²⁸⁵ Paraskevopoulos, *Τὰ Φυλακτά τῆς Ἡλίας ὑπὸ τὸ φῶς τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Πίστεως* (*The Phylacteries of Ilia in the light of the Christian faith*), pp. 181-182.

²⁸⁶ Simopoulos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στὴν Ἑλλάδα*, (Foreign Travellers to Greece), ii, p. 511.

²⁸⁷ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, pp. 149-150.

As a result, institutional inability or unwillingness to control such symbols and their potential as income for the authorities legitimated *φυλακτά* and allowed their use as potent objects of personal health insurance by the Orthodox community.

3. 5 Iatrosophia

The so-called iatrosophia... a diluted and darkened decoction of the ancient teaching, mixed with all kinds of superstitious ingredients, sympathetic [therapeutic] means and exorcism formulas.

K. Krumbacher²⁸⁸

Scholarly research has not portrayed the post Byzantine medical manuscripts known as iatrosophia (singular iatrosophion) in a favourable light. Late in the nineteenth century, the renowned Byzantinist Krumbacher judged them with particular severity. Perhaps, their vernacular, all-embracing features presented a particularly discordant quality to the great philologist's classical sensitivities.

Krumbacher's canonical views have carried through to the twenty first century. Modern commentaries include that of the medical dictionary of Greek folklore 'badly written, difficult to read, grammatically incorrect, badly syntaxed', and the dictionary of modern Greek language 'iatrosophia do not cure diseases' and are characteristic of the modern image of iatrosophia.²⁸⁹

Did the Greek world of the eighteenth century share modern opinions on iatrosophia? Were they idiosyncratic collections of traditional therapeutic theories and practices recorded at random or were they conscious efforts to document existing beliefs and new knowledge in a dynamic therapeutic environment for the assistance of ordinary Orthodox men and women?

²⁸⁸ Quoted in A. Touwaide, 'Byzantine Hospital Manuals (Iatrosophia) as a Source for the Study of Therapeutics' in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*, ed. by Barbara Bowers (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 147-173 (p. 154).

²⁸⁹ G. A. Regatos, *Λεξικό Ιατρικής Λαογραφίας* (Athens: Vita, 2005), p.138; 'Κακογραμμένο, δυσανάγνωστο, ανορθόγραφο, κακοσυνταγμένο χειρόγραφο, είναι η συνήθης εικόνα των ιατροσοφίων'. G. Babinotis, *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* (Dictionary of the New Greek Language), p. 415; 'τα γιατροσόφια δεν θεραπεύουν τις αρρώστιες'.

The generally passive attitude of scholars towards the manuscripts is mirrored by the sparse work on the systematic study of the texts for the period of Ottoman rule (1453 – 1821). Significant recent academic research in the field is limited to the influential research of Y. Karas in cataloguing the manuscripts, A. Tselikas and the work of the Historical and Palaeographic Archive of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece (MIET), the collections of the Folklore Research Centre of the Academy of Athens, Alain Touwaide on Byzantine and earlier periods, D. Kostoula on Agapios Landos and the doctoral thesis of A. Bibi-Papaspyropoulou on traditional medicine in the Peloponnese. This section sets out to examine the content of post Byzantine iatrosophic texts of the eighteenth century 'from below' and explore its connections with contemporary Greek medical culture.

Contexts and Practices

The geographic spread and considerable number of iatrosophic texts that have been identified to date suggest they were widespread sources of medical knowledge in the Greek communities which at the time were under Ottoman and Venetian rule. Research carried out by the Neo-Hellenic Research Centre and the Historical and Palaeographic Archive (MIET) point to their existence in most of the Ottoman provinces in Europe, the coast of Asia Minor, the Aegean and Ionian islands, Crete and Cyprus. Despite the frequent and devastating impact of wars, earthquakes and political change in the region, a considerable number of manuscripts have survived across the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean region. According to Karas, over 250 known post- Byzantine iatrosophic manuscripts have been located in monasteries, libraries and private collections but, as some are near copies, Tselikas places their actual number around 150.²⁹⁰

The manuscripts were usually written by a variety of individuals in an effort to provide practical therapeutic guidance to a community frequently deprived of easy access to treatment by a professional physician or the

²⁹⁰ Karas, *Οι έπιστήμες στην Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), pp. 160-320; A. Tselikas, 'Τά Έλληνικά Γιατροσόφια: Μιά περοφρονημένη κατηγορία χειρογράφων (Greek iatrosophia: A category of manuscripts scorned)', in *Ίατρικά Βυζαντινά Χειρόγραφα* (Byzantine medical manuscripts), ed. by A. Diamandopoulos (Athens: Domos, 1995), pp. 57-69 (p. 61).

financial means to afford it. The copyists were interested laymen, professional healers or clerical scribes with access to existing manuscripts and occasional social contact with practitioners of the healing arts.²⁹¹ Altogether, clerical input features strongly throughout the iatrosophic corpus.

For the scribes and users of the manuscript, the information embodied treasured 'medical wisdom', an iatrosophion. Each text was presented in self-contained chapters for use as a practical instruction manual in matters of medical theory and healing practice. Reflecting their beliefs on the text's indisputable provenance and great significance, manuscripts were frequently referred as Testament (*Διαθήκη*), Medical Bible (*Ἱατρικὴ Βίβλος*) or Interpretations (*Ἑρμηνείαι*).²⁹² A significant number of the works provide a statement of provenance, and at once an authority device, that acknowledges their quality as compilations of the medical wisdom of physicians and authors of great repute:

Testament of the three doctors, Galen, Hippocrates
and Dioscorides, wise on the construction of the human
[body]... for the health of those who wish to live well.

Iatrosophion selected from many medical books of
Hippocrates, Galen, Meletios the monk and other most
worthy and wise doctors.²⁹³

Besides the great classical personalities, other authors frequently mentioned are Paul of Aegina, Alexander of Tralles, Paul of Nikaea, Meletios, Gerasimos of Crete and, importantly, Italian sources such as Mattioli and

²⁹¹ Karas, *Οἱ ἐπιστῆμες στήν Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), pp. 176 (K.E.M.N.E.), 236 (B.O. 93), 243 (E.B.E. 3099).

²⁹² Karas, *Οἱ ἐπιστῆμες στήν Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), pp. 174 (B.O. 81), 259 (M.A.A.Σ. 1983), 193 (B.P.A. 304).

²⁹³ - Μονή Αγ. Αἰκατερίνης Σινά (Monastery of St Catherine Sina) MS 1916, fol. 2
'Διαθήκη τῶν τριῶν ἱατρῶν Γαλήνων, Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Διοσκορίδους, τῶν σοφῶν περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατασκευῆς... Πᾶσι τοῖς θέλουσιν εὖ διάγειν περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑγείας';

- Κέντρο Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν - Ἱατροσοφικός Μαραιοπούλου (Centre of the Medieval Archive of the Academy of Athens) MS *Iatrosophikos Mariopoulou* fol. 17:

'Ἱατροσόφιον ἐκλελεγμένον ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἱατρικῶν βιβλίων Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Γαληνοῦ καὶ Μελετίου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἄλλων δοκιμωτάτων καὶ σοφῶν ἱατρῶν'.

Castor (Durante).²⁹⁴ Frequent misspellings of the authors' names by the scribe, regular use of the vernacular language and grammar, incorporation of Christian religious beliefs and promotion of magico-religious healing practices have cast doubts as to authenticity of the asserted provenance from classical and Byzantine sources even for parts of the text. Clearly, however, for most of the scribes, those seeking medical instruction and others within the Greek community the texts were for the most part credible and their famous authors held in singular esteem: 'The most excellent and wise Hippocrates and Galen the philosophers and physicians of the world' reads the Greek iatrosophion in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest'.²⁹⁵

Indeed the Orthodox community was familiar with basic aspects of Hippocratic medical principles. Many of the texts give detailed explanations of the humoral theory and Illustration 13 is typical of the genre. The explanation of the creation of human beings based on the four elements – air, fire, earth and water - and the primary qualities – hot, dry, cold and wet – together with the account of the four humours follow the centuries-old schema of associations with the four ages of man – childhood, youth, adulthood and old age. Occasionally, iatrosophic texts were accompanied by illustrations representing important aspects of the ideas considered in the text. Next to the commentary on creation in Illustration 13, the scribe has introduced the reader to an image of exceptional refinement and creativity to facilitate the understanding of the relationships integral to the Hippocratic medical system. The diagram is typical of the tetradic type and helps communicate the humoral concept of natural philosophy. It is based upon the notion of *Syzygy* (*συζυγία*), the state of being separate yet analogous and corresponding to others within an inter-connected entity.

In a pleasingly symmetrical form, four intertwined female figures represent the four humours and link the four elements with the four primary qualities, the four winds, four periods of the day and four tastes. Stretching of

²⁹⁴ Agapios Landos, *Γεωπονικόν* (Geoponikon), ed. by D. Kostoula (Volos: Tinos, 1991), p. 59; Based on the first edition of 1643 which was followed by a further sixteen in the period to 1819.

²⁹⁵ Karas, *Οι επιστήμες στην Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), p. 208 (B.P.A.); 'Τῶν ἐξωχωτάτων καί σωφωτάτων Ἱπποκράτου καί γαληνοῦ τῶν φηλωσώφων καί ιατρῶν τίς ἰκουμένης'.

the arms and embracing each other in a circular and harmonious fashion, they blend the macrocosm of the world, that is the elements and seasons, with the microcosm of the individual composed by the four humours in the form of four females intertwined, separate in their form and colour, yet fully interconnected. The choice of the female figure to represent each humour is typical of medieval representations of personified abstract qualities such as the cardinal virtues, vices, nature and fortune. The facial features depict a female form in a rather expressionless manner and, although nude, there are scant further signs of female anatomy. It is a distinctive work, possibly following an older original as this pattern of corresponding figures is not unusual.²⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the work reveals a realistic appreciation of the inter-connective characteristics of humoral theory and a competent understanding of the scientific reasoning underpinning the ancient text.

As the inclusion of the Italian authors Mattioli and Castor (Durante) shows, the texts were not mere interpretations of ancient wisdom. Therapeutic advice was added into an iatrosophion as new medical knowledge became available from a wide variety of sources. One manuscript claims to incorporate the application of ideas and methods of a hospital thus making the manual 'especially suitable for the practice of blood-letting'.²⁹⁷ In an eighteenth century manuscript from the collection of the National Library of Greece, the copyist added medical prescriptions obtained from professional medical practitioners: 'new invention of a French physician for the cure of gout'.²⁹⁸ The anonymous scribe has entered the names of a number of physicians who provided some of the medical prescriptions into the manuscript. They include, most probably, the renowned Emmanuil Timonis (1669 – 1720) with origins in the island of Chios, possessor of medical degrees from Padua and Oxford, and Fellow of the Royal Society, credited with bringing first to the attention of the Society the method of inoculation for smallpox practised in the East by women empirics.

²⁹⁶ Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man – Medieval interpretations of the life cycle* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), pp. 25-31.

²⁹⁷ Karas, *Οί επιστήμες στήν Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), p. 177 (B.E.B. 68); '... ἔτι δέ καί ἐκ τοῦ ξενώνοϛ, περί φλεβοτομίας ἀριστον'.

²⁹⁸ Karas, *Οί επιστήμες στήν Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), pp. 277-278 (E.B.E. 2856); Identified as a manuscript of the eighteenth century, the text gives the names of a number of contributing physicians including that of Μανωλάκης Τιμώνης. There are no other Greek doctors with a similar name qualified in a European university.

(See section 5.1). The inclusion of physicians' names into the text is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it indicates that the scribes of iatrosophia had access to the academic profession and secular society at large, and were not working in remote monastic locations as mere copyists of texts. Secondly, it suggests openness on the part of doctors to discuss and provide details of prescriptions to lay people within the Greek community. Thirdly, in their evident acknowledgment of the importance of physicians, the manuscripts reveal the community's deference to professional medical opinion, a subject of special relevance in a society without medical schools, few doctors and near-total absence of printed, physician-authored, medical books in the Greek language. Hence, the entry of a physician's name into the text enhances the authority and perceived therapeutic value of the healing manual.

Iatrosophic aspects of provenance and authority acquire further significance when the texts are viewed in the context of their religious association and relationship. Notwithstanding their links with named, ancient and pagan authors, in most of the iatrosophia we find the insertion and synthesis of Orthodox Christian philosophy into what, after all, were accounts of pre-Christian therapeutics:

...how the world was created by God and how man was created and that he was created from four elements by God; and why man is called man and Adam named Adam.
Chapter a' of the divine fathers;

The Great Athanasios says... as a man has intercourse with a woman, instantly by God's creation an infant is formed with a body and soul;

For the glory of Christ, amen.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹ -CMAAA, MS Iatrosophikos Mariopoulou, fol. 17: 'περὶ πῶς ἐγένη ὁ κόσμος παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ πῶς ἐγένη καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ τέσσερα στοιχεῖα τὸν ἔκαμεν ὁ Θεός...καὶ διὰ τί λέγεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁ Ἀδάμ διὰ τί ὠνομάσθη Ἀδάμ... Τῶν θείων διδασκάλων, κεφ. α'':

-Μονὴ Μεταμορφώσεως Σκόπελος - 8 (Monastery of the Transfiguration Skopelos, MS 8, fol. 91; 'Ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος λέγει... οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἄνδρας μὲ τὴν γυναῖκα συνουσιάζεται εὐθὺς δημιουργία Θεοῦ γίνεται βρέφος μὲ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν';

In post-Byzantine times, the Orthodox Church had always played a principal part in the daily affairs of the congregation albeit submitting to the higher secular authority of the Sultan or the Venetian Senate. The daily challenges of Ottoman and Venetian rule, however, engendered an even stronger affiliation between the congregation and the Church, thereby reinforcing their bonds and the latter's influence over the lives of the Orthodox community. Naturally, such authority encompassed intellectual as well as practical aspects of medicine as, for example, its role in copying and augmenting the secular ideas of the iatrosophic texts with those of Orthodox Christian philosophy and its philosophical position in the causes of sickness.

In the texts above, we detect the introduction of Christian systems of belief into allegedly Hippocratic teachings; the introduction and blending of ideas from Genesis with elements of humoral theory, the thoughts of St Athanasios the Great (CE 293 – 373) and the use of the healing manual for the glory of Christ's church. In this process, classical theory was assimilated with the religious beliefs of the congregation making any separation between the two impossible for the lay person. Moreover, as the iatrosophic manual served the Orthodox community at large, religious aspects were offered in a vernacular rendering that frequently represented a demotic expression of Church beliefs rather than the sophisticated expression of its authorised doctrine.

As a result, the iatrosophic texts emerge as part of a whole corpus of a vernacular philosophy of healing that does not differentiate between the pagan and the Christian. In mutual intellectual support, Hippocrates and Galen stand shoulder to shoulder with the people's Christ and His Saints both defining and reflecting the accepted wisdom of contemporary Greek society: assimilation of classical precepts and Church beliefs combined with unquestioning loyalty towards the Orthodox Church and its local representatives. The influence of Orthodox Christian philosophy and Orthodox clericalism are felt throughout the texts. Frequently, Meletios 'the monk' and other Christian personalities

feature prominently and the scribe's style reflects that acquired in a Christian religious environment.³⁰⁰

An important consequence of the fusion of classical medical philosophy and Orthodox religious precepts and practice within the iatrosophic corpus was the strengthening of the bonds between the official church and its faithful - be they recorders, practitioners or recipients of iatrosophic medicine: Christ guiding the healing arts for the benefit of His people. In turn, by contributing to the text, unofficially or not, the Church bestowed its blessing thereby enhancing the authority of the texts and their professed efficacy in the eyes of its congregation. Such a profound level of Orthodox religious presence gave iatrosophic texts a relevance and immediacy beyond those of tenuous classical linkage or quack medicine.

The dynamic assimilative character of iatrosophic texts is especially evident in the copyist's readiness to embrace Western academic medicine derived from established European medical practice. Over the centuries, in accordance with Hippocratic precepts, purging had been a standard procedure of learned medicine throughout Europe. The practice continued well into the nineteenth century when pharmaceutical chemistry changed long-established therapeutic regimes. The physician applied purging in order to evacuate the patient's system to help recover the balance of nature or pave the way for further medication. 'Those who are in good bodily condition are hard to purge' and 'purge at the start of an illness if you think fit' are just two of the Hippocratic aphorisms on the subject.³⁰¹ In the following iatrosophic prescription for a purgative we detect the kind of *materia medica* used at the time by the wider academic medical community:

In order to make the purgative named *potzione poletiva magistrale (sic)* place in two cups of water one dram of *σιναμεκκή* made well, one dram of

³⁰⁰ For example in relation to Meletios, Karas, *Οι ἐπιστήμες στήν Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), pp. 163 [M.I. 535 (4655)], 167 (M. Δν. 610 B'), 182 (B.P.A. 998) and clerical scribes pp. 169 (M. Δν. 610 Γ'), 262 (M.A.A.Σ. 1868).

³⁰¹ Lloyd, *Hippocratic Writings*, p. 211, (No 29 and 37).

krimer de tartari (sic) well ground, two pinches of
aniseed and boil them for a while.³⁰²

Σιναμεκκή refers to the plant Cassia (*Cinnamomum aromaticum*) and tartar to the chemical compound potassium antimony tartrate both common purgatives available in Eastern Mediterranean. Cassia and *Cremo di tartaro* feature in the 1753 catalogue of officially approved medicines for sale in the pharmacies of Zante at the time ruled by Venice, a primary supplier of *materia medica* throughout the region both through approved pharmacies and authorised import houses located within the Ottoman empire.³⁰³ Moreover, the recording of precise measures in the prescription suggests that this medical recipe was intended for the serious purpose of healing rather than general interest.

The preparation for such a purgative was not a rare event in the assimilation of classical and Western medicine in the Greek iatrosophic corpus. The prescribed treatments for *θέρμη* (malaria) and *μαλαφράντζα* (the French Disease / Syphilis) are two of several other examples of Western remedies embraced to relieve the symptoms of these ailments in contemporary Greek community. As with most of the Mediterranean, the geography and trading activities of the Greek world presented favourable conditions for infection from these diseases. *Kina (Cortex Peruviani)* was included in the official drug catalogue of Venice and exported to the Eastern Mediterranean.³⁰⁴ Assimilating professional medical practice, iatrosophic advice offered:

For everyday malaria
Grind kina together with the flesh of peach
and make into pills.

³⁰² Μονή Ταξιαρχών Αἰγίου (Monastery of the Archangels Egeion), MS 492, fol. 2: 'Διὰ νὰκάμης καθαριτικὸν ὀνομαζόμενον ποτζίονε πολετίβα μαγγιστράλε. βάλε σιναμεκκή καλὰ παστρεμένη δράμι 1, κρημέρ δὲ τάρταρι καλὰ τριμμένο δράμι 1 καὶ δύο πρέζες γλυκάνισον, νερόν φλιντζάνια δύο καὶ βράσε το ὀλίγον'.

³⁰³ Emmanouil, 'Ἡ Φαρμακευτικὴ εἰς τὴν Ζάκυνθον καὶ τὴν Ἑπτάνησον ἐπὶ Ἑνετοκρατίας καὶ Ἀγγλικῆς προστασίας' (Pharmaceutics in Zante and the Ionian Islands during the Venetian Rule and British Protectorate), pp.11-12.

³⁰⁴ Emmanouil, 'Ἡ Φαρμακευτικὴ εἰς τὴν Ζάκυνθον καὶ τὴν Ἑπτάνησον ἐπὶ Ἑνετοκρατίας καὶ Ἀγγλικῆς προστασίας' (Pharmaceutics in Zante and the Ionian Islands during the Venetian Rule and British Protectorate), p.13.

To stop malaria

Take kina first... [plus other ingredients] Grind them
well, bake and mix in 250 drams of good wine...

Then give to the malaria sufferer one dose in the
morning, one with lunch and another in the evening.³⁰⁵

Introduced into Europe from Peru around 1630, (Cinchona bark) was arguably the first effective specific drug to help malaria sufferers and, regardless of cost or ease of access, the copyist included the remedies into the manuscript.

As with malaria, syphilis was encountered in most of Europe. Notably, the common name for the disease in iatrosophic texts is *malafrantza* (*sic*) (μαλαφράντζα) a Greek version of the Italian for the 'French disease'. This widespread term was derived from the popularization of the Latin poem '*Syphilis sive morbus Galicus*' by the physician Fracastoro. It appears the Italian doctor was influenced by the virulence of the disease among the French troops in the war between Spain and France in 1494 publishing his account of the disease in 1530 and, to give particular intensity to his ideas, in poetic form. One of many, the following remedy for the 'French disease' is offered in an iatrosophic manuscript and bares close resemblance to '*Acqua luminosa*' a preparation offered in official Venetian drugstores in the middle of the eighteenth century:

Ointment for the μαλαφράντζα (French Disease)

Flower-oil...[plus other ingredients] ... mercury...
rosemary... make them all into an ointment and
rub on the body warm.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ ELIA, 18, fol. 128; 'Διά τήν καθημερινήν θέρμην, Κίνα καί ροδακίων τήν ψύχαν κοπάνισον κάμε χάπια...';

MTS, MS 8, fol. 159; 'Διά νά κόψης τήν θέρμην. Πάρε κίνα πρώτη ξσιαζέ το ήτοι κελέν δράμια 6 στούλμ τ' Αγγλετέρ, άλλας τής Αγγλίας δράμι 1 καί ξν μοσχοκάρυδον. Ψήσε τὰ εἶδη ἀφ' οὗ τὰ κοπανίσεις καλῶς καί ...τὰ ρίπτεις εἰς 250 δράμια κρασί καλόν... Ἐπειτα δίδεις εἰς τὸν πάσχοντα ἀπὸ θέρμην μίαν δόσιν τὸ πρῶν, μίαν τὸ γεῦμα καί ἄλλην τὸ ἐσπέρας...';

³⁰⁶ MTS, MS 8, fol. 144, 'Ἀλοιφή τῆς μαλαφράντζας. Ἀνθόλαδον καί χαμηλόλαδον ἀπὸ 8 δράμια πρόβειον ἄλειμμα ἀπὸ τὸ νεφρὶ καί χοιρινίσο ἀνάλατον ἀπὸ 32 δράμια, διάργυρον εἶναι λιθάργυρον ἀπὸ 6 δράμια, λίβανον καί μαστίχαν καίμένην ἀπὸ 10 δράμια, αὐτὰ ὅλα κάμε τα ἀλοιφήν καί ἄλειφε τὸ κορμὶ ὅλον ζεστόν'; A similar prescription is given in Emmanouil, 'Ἡ Φαρμακευτικὴ εἰς τὴν Ζάκυνθον καί τὴν Ἑπτάνησον ἐπὶ Ἑνετοκρατίας καί Ἀγγλικῆς προστασίας' (Pharmaceutics in Zante and the Ionian Islands during the Venetian Rule and British Protectorate), p. 10.

Mercury was the basis of different remedies to treat the symptoms of the disease. It was administered in a number of ways including skin application and fumigation, the latter a hygiene process familiar to most of the Greek community. In cases of fumigation treatment for the 'French disease', Western patients were occasionally placed in a closed-box apparatus under which a fire caused the mercury to vaporize and reach the skin. (Illustration 14) Iatrosophic texts include such 'fumigation' process in their range of remedies for the disease also. In manuscript 55, in the library of the Monastery of Olympiotissa, we observe the copyist's attempt to provide an illustration of the fumigation process that closely resembles that of the European model. (Illustration 15) Such a connection may seem irrelevant as access to mercury or other drugs might have been difficult in the regions under Ottoman rule. Evidently, however, there was substantial contact between Europe and the East through officially sanctioned trading arrangements and some trade in pharmaceutical products.³⁰⁷

In the context of this study, it is especially significant that iatrosophic texts included contemporary therapeutic options employed by Western academic medicine. Occasional instruction by physicians educated in Europe, social contacts, and popular remedies contributed to the assimilation of Western medical theory and its application into traditional medicine.

A large part of the preceding analysis invites us to consider whether this was an on-going exchange of ideas between the learned community, lay or clerical, and the wider society thereby shaping local traditions and the evolution of cultural values among the Greek people. Although philological analysis falls outside the scope of this paper, a number of observations can be made in regard to the language of the iatrosophic texts and our primary concern with contemporary Greek medical culture.

Generally, the language of iatrosophic manuscripts displays the scribes' freedom to copy or add to their text without strict adherence to grammar or a formal linguistic style. There are several spelling errors including the name of Galen (γαλυνού or γαλήνον) or the mixing of the language medium from the archaic (σεσαρκωμένον) to the vernacular (φεγκαρίου) even

³⁰⁷ Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Città ed Isola di Zante*, (Zante, 1811), pp. 53, 88, 105.

within the same manuscript.³⁰⁸ Frequently, as in Illustration 15, the copyist adopts an informal writing style with the focus on recording fresh knowledge rather than displaying a scribe's skill. A number of additional notes in the margins have been recorded by the initial and subsequent writers, symptomatic of their efforts to augment and develop the existing medical knowledge into a practical therapeutic manual. For the most part, the scribe's endeavor seems to be focused upon the recording and later insertion of useful popular therapies rather than faithful textual transmission for the learned medical elite.

Transliteration has been used often to communicate Western diseases or prescriptions in their original popular form rather than coin a new Greek term as, for example, μαλαφράντζα the Italian for the 'French disease'. The preference for easy to understand forms of language extends to the contemporary body of Greek popular healing terms also. Typically, in the 'dictionary' section of the seventeenth century iatrosophion, manuscript 217 of the Ivron monastery, we observe the writer's wish to acquaint the reader with the names of medical plants as understood by the general Greek population. (Illustration 16) Such partiality towards the 'vernacular' continues in several manuscripts with the names of known diseases as the following examples demonstrate:³⁰⁹

Εἰς κουκούδια κεφαλῆς	- For head spots
Εἰς τσάκισμα χειρῶν	- For hand-bone fracture
Εἰς ὅποιον πτύει αἷμα	- For blood spitting
Ματζούνι διά σβραχνάδα	- Prescription for hoarseness
Εἰς τὰ χελώνια	- For scrofula
Εἰς κιτρινάδα	- For jaundice (literally yellowing)

The preference for such a demotic terminology of therapeutics suggests iatrosophic texts were cultural products intended for the understanding and use of the general public rather than the intellectual elite. Importantly, while some part of the texts can be attributed to a common, probably sixteenth

³⁰⁸ Karas, *Οἱ ἐπιστῆμες στήν Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), pp. 186 (Σ.Δ. 68), 194 (M.A.A.Σ. 1916), 261 (M.B. 42).

³⁰⁹ Karas, *Οἱ ἐπιστῆμες στήν Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), pp. 186-190 (Σ.Δ. 68).

century learned source, their linguistic evolution points to the powerful influence of oral tradition in contemporary Greek culture.

In contrast to some Western societies, this was not a case of Galenic writers ignoring oral tradition in their effort to educate medical practitioners and the public; rather the opposite where a strong healing tradition transmitted orally from generation to generation compensates for and contributes to the meagre medical literature of the time.³¹⁰ The abundance of iatrosophic prescriptions using products of nature as remedies and written in the demotic language validates their oral provenance and close affiliation to the ordinary Greek man and woman.

In the course of iatrosophic transcription of healing remedies, the writer's primary interest centred in the 'community'. Typically, the note in iatrosophion M.I. 151 (4271) reads 'offered by me, Savas the monk, to the hospital for the cure of those afflicted'.³¹¹ Inevitably, in the process of assimilation of therapeutic beliefs of all types and from all sources for the community's benefit, iatrosophic texts embraced and transmitted miscellaneous remedies that included magical and magico-religious practices. Widely held beliefs in the paranormal had been a characteristic of Greek society since classical times and such notions continued well into the early modern period. Some were acceptable whilst others were proscribed by the Orthodox Church.

In the iatrosophic corpus we have further evidence of the community's preoccupation with the 'supernatural' and especially in matters relating to health and disease. These customs are perhaps the most discomforting aspect for scholars who sought the towering presence of Hippocratic 'rationalism' in the post-Byzantine Greek iatrosophic texts. Yet, the history of later medicine in Europe is 'first of all one of continuing pluralism'.³¹² In this context, the Greek community sought cures from its considerable healing tradition within the framework of its own experience and understanding.

The iatrosophic corpus abounds with examples of such remedies:

³¹⁰ Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550 – 1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 61.

³¹¹ Karas, *Οι έπιστήμες στην Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), p. 215 [M.I. 151 (4271)], fol. 18β.

³¹² G.E.R. Lloyd, *In the Grip of Disease, Studies in Greek Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), p.235.

For μαγουλήθρες (parotitis) write the following pentagram and hexagram:



When a child cannot sleep, find [discarded] snake skin and burn until it turns to ashes. Mix with old wine and place it on [the child's] eyelash. Sleep will come.³¹³

In the Mariopoulou manuscript we observe the long-held notion in the apotropaic value of the pentagram and hexagram, in this instance combined with the circle and Greek letters. The shapes are found together and are thought to be connected to the seal of king Solomon.³¹⁴ They are similar in style to the amulets found in Hebraic sources and, in combination with the Hebrew names for God and the Archangels, were thought to offer the recipient the favour and protection of the Lord.

The letters of the Greek alphabet play an important part in the Mariopoulou inscriptions also. The letters *chi* and *sigma* refer to the first and last letters of the Greek word for 'Christ' (ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ). The connection of such a monogram with Christian protection spans many centuries from Constantine the Great and the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 CE. On the eve of the battle, according to the emperor's vision, a 'cross-shaped trophy formed from light, and a text attached to it which said, "By this you conquer"'.³¹⁵ In that sign the letter *chi* intersected in the middle the letter *rho* thereby combining the first and second letters of the name 'Christ'. According to Eusebius, 'This saving sign was always used by the Emperor for protection against every opposing

³¹³ CMAAA, MS Iatrosophikos Mariopoulou, fol. 132: 'Εἰς μαγουλήθρες γράφονται ἡ κάτωθεν πεντάλφα καὶ ἐξάλφα'; MAE, MS 492, fol. 12: "Ὅταν δὲν κοιμᾶται τὸ παιδί εὔρε ὀφιδίου ἔνδυμα καὶ κάψε το νὰ γένῃ στάκτη. Ἐπειτα ἀνακάτωσέ την μὲ παλαιὸ κρασί καὶ βάλε το εἰς τὸ βλέφαρόν του καὶ τοῦ ἔρχεται ὕπνος'.

³¹⁴ E. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions* (New York: Dover, 1978), pp. 232-233.

³¹⁵ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, trans. by Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), pp. 80-81.

and hostile force'.³¹⁶ Since then, similar symbols incorporating letters of Christ's name have been used throughout the Christian world for protection against harm. The other letters in the manuscript's pentagram and hexagram are significant in that they illustrate popular belief in the power of letters when these are associated with names of Christian holy persons or the initial letters of the words forming the invocation implicit in the amulet.

In relation to the manuscript's remedy concerning sleeplessness in children, snakes have been linked with a host of religious beliefs and healing practices whilst sloughing of snake skin has been a symbol of rebirth and renewal. In this case the skin remnant embodies the creature's capabilities including the ease of entry into the worlds of light and darkness.

The exploration of iatrosophic texts presented thus far invites us to reconsider and redraw modern sensitivities concerning their place in Greek therapeutics of the eighteenth century. In the transcriptions we observe a broad awareness of the great medical authors of Greek antiquity and a firm belief in their intellectual authority and guiding principles on human health. Taking into account the importance of medicine and popularity of the texts among the wider Greek community, it is probable that few other personalities from the classical era were of equal fame and status.

In the manuscripts' account of humoral theory we have clear connections and continuities with the classical heritage. Despite its intellectual complexity, the theory was offered in a 'blessedly simple, fully comprehensible schema for the philosophically naïve'.³¹⁷ Whilst this might not have met with the approval of the literate elite, it offered to the community a theoretical framework to embrace and assimilate into their other customs and guide much of their healing practices. Significantly, it maintained an unbroken intellectual and practical link with the Byzantine and classical past.

The manuscripts also point to the influence and assimilation of academic medical knowledge from Western, mainly Italian, sources and the readiness of the community to embrace such medical heritage into their own. Given the rareness and cost of university-trained physicians and lack of alternative medical literature, the texts reveal their useful and dynamic

³¹⁶ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, p. 82.

³¹⁷ Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man – Medieval interpretations of the life cycle*, p. 17.

character. Thus, in the therapeutics of an iatrosophion we see, however tenuous, reflections of the story of healing of the Greek and wider European society.

In examining philosophical and practical aspects of iatrosophic medicine, we witness the central role of the Orthodox Church in its philosophical and secular role albeit with the borders between the sacred and the magic, the Hellenistic and the Judaeo-Christian indistinct and socially constructed. Iatrosophic texts were brought together in a form that appealed to the needs, sensitivities and notions of the highly spiritualised Orthodox community. Crucially, contemporary Greek Orthodoxy practised a 'vernacular' religion. Most often, priests were chosen from the locality and probably tutored in a nearby monastery rather a higher school of Divinity Studies. They spoke in the local accent and needed to supplement their meagre income with teaching and agriculture. Indeed in the demotic language and healing character of iatrosophia we detect the closeness of the clerical community to the Orthodox flock; an image that resonates in much of modern Greece today. In this context, the Church strengthened its authority over the affairs of its parishioners as the principal source of knowledge and expertise. After all, the close connection of the Church with healing institutions and prayers was widely acknowledged and accepted by the Orthodox congregation. In the iatrosophic texts we come closer to appreciating the deep spirituality of the Greek community, comprehending its psychological orientation in matters of health and sickness and placing it alongside Guys' account of collective patterns of belief.

What of Krumbacher's 'superstitious ingredients and exorcism formulas'? In relation to iatrosophic texts and modern notions of the 'rational' and 'scientific' we should note G.E.R. Lloyd's seminal *Magic, Reason and Experience, Studies in the Origins and Development of Greek Science*.³¹⁸ Magical beliefs and the 'irrational' have been part of Greek life since antiquity and in the study of early modern Greek culture what matters is that 'magic' took place in a setting of pluralistic community beliefs and customs regarding the supernatural.

³¹⁸ G.E.R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience, Studies in the Origins and Development of Greek Science* (London: Duckworth, 1999).

With some exceptions, the study of post Byzantine medical manuscripts has been ignored by the wider scholarly community. Yet, evaluated from the 'prism' of a broader, social history of medicine, the texts make it possible to observe Greek Orthodox culture 'from below' and gain an insight of the almost personal meanings inherent in that community. No Whig history here. Rather, what it felt like to be ill, to express pain and take medication; to understand one's body and its perceived function, to appreciate the Orthodox *millet's* mind-set on the divine and the supernatural and its sense of identity with its classical, Christian, and European, heritage. A new addition to our understanding of the cultural and intellectual foundations of modern Greek culture that is sensitive to the past and relevant to modern issues.

3.6 Conclusions

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Orthodox Church notions on sickness reflected an Eastern system of Christian beliefs that embraced elements of classical philosophy and Judaeo-Christianity. However, unlike contemporary Western Europe, their beliefs were forged by a Byzantine temperament characterised by high religiosity and a predisposition towards mysticism and the supernatural. Religious explanations for sickness were given from a combination of the Bible, Church canon law, the local pulpit and the vernacular text of approved Church publications.

In explaining the causes of disease and physical suffering, the Orthodox Church adopted a highly malleable, occasionally contrasting doctrinal position. Elements of 'regular' medical theory were embraced along with providential and demonic notions of sickness with the emphasis on moral - as opposed to natural - causes of disease. Signifying the strong cultural connections of the region with the dominant Byzantine religious tradition, the Church combined its spiritual and pastoral mission with its own remedies as a therapeutic source. In the process, it employed its powerful credentials to promote specific ideas. Accordingly, causes of disease and suffering were frequently linked with Church concepts of the 'moral' life and evil. Philosophical debate as to the natural causes of affliction remained subsidiary to the primary concern with personal salvation. As earthly life was transitory

and the next world eternal, Orthodox focus elevated the spiritual and eschatological over the scientific. Importantly, as in other parts of Europe, Orthodox Church authorities felt that supernatural aspects of disease causation and cure should fall exclusively within its authority.³¹⁹ Nevertheless, the nature of its relationship with the Orthodox priesthood and congregation was such that it was unable to enforce its canonical pronouncements. In the hands of a relatively uneducated clergy and religious community, popular quasi-religious therapy became part of a broader community of healers.

The profusion of religious ritual in Greek social life played a significant part in shaping Greek culture and notions of disease. Ritual has been defined as a 'religious or solemn ceremony consisting of a series of actions performed according to a prescribed order' and as the 'social aspect of religion'.³²⁰ Much of the ritual activity took place in an open communal space. As the litanies of St Charalambos and Spyridon illustrate, rituals inspired awe with great impact on participants and observers alike. With the Church as the chief protagonist, such activities legitimised the clerical community further by investing it with greater prestige and authority. In addition, as religious healing rituals were signs of the exercise of power, in a political sense, they helped the Orthodox Church to invigorate its powerful position among the Greek community.

Organised by church representatives, the ritual process followed a method and performance set by its own 'Church' boundaries. Religious healing acts such as litanies, religious amulets, and votive offerings were different remedies to those offered by physicians, thereby helping to separate religious therapeutics from other forms of medicine. Over time, ritual acts such as supplication to a saint for a specific illness, the passing of the sacred relic over the afflicted, and the wearing of Christian amulets came to be regarded as 'fixed' ideas of therapeutic value to the congregation. This placed religious therapeutics and the clerical community firmly in the 'healer' camp and presented them as 'natural' alternatives to the remedies offered by popular healers and academic physicians.

³¹⁹ David Gentilcore, 'The Church, the Devil and the healing activities of living saints in the Kingdom of Naples after the Council of Trent' in *Medicine and the Reformation*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 134-155 (pp.134-135).

³²⁰ OED, p. 1521; Thomas H. Eriksen, *Small Places, Large Issues - An introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology* (London: Pluto, 1995), p. 203.

In the course of our investigation we have come to appreciate the deeply religious disposition of eighteenth-century Greek society. In addition, we have come to understand the Church's strong vernacular character, its extraordinary immediacy to the community, and in the diverse and powerful 'iconic' images of Eastern Orthodoxy we have become acquainted with its distinctive cultural setting. In the imagery of religious processions, the icons of healer saints and representations in votive offerings we discern inspiring transcendental qualities and powerful psychological dimensions; a language as 'a straight forward reflection of reality'; 'the world as lived and as imagined turning out to be the same world'.³²¹ For the Orthodox faithful these images embodied treasured spiritual relationships whilst for the French Consul Grasset Saint-Sauver they were mere manifestations of the nature of elites and social difference.³²²

How far did religious healing make sense to and was embraced by the Greek community of eighteenth century? Evidently, the Orthodox congregation did not share the view that the causes of disease were exclusively the work of supernatural forces. Vernacular medical manuals (iatrosophia) abound in natural remedies and, even as clerics, papa Fourlanos' laconic texts of remedies for common ailments do not feature the paranormal and the Protopriest Kapadokas officially acknowledges inoculation as an invention of human medical agency. If diseases were thought to be the work of demonic influence or divine retribution for man's sinful nature, then the logical relationship of the opposite must hold true: Through the Church, God and his saints are capable of assisting the faithful in their hour of need.

Unlike the energetic Western philosophical and medical deliberations on the causes of illness, eighteenth-century Orthodoxy lacked the philosophical motivation and means for a wider debate on the subject. For a thorough enquiry very few among the local congregation had access to patristic works and the opportunity to compare Western treatises outside Orthodox Church circles. Moreover, the prevailing socio-political climate was not conducive to intellectual debate in the matter: 'there is no doubt that the

³²¹ Clark, *Thinking with Demons, The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* p. 4; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p.112.

³²² For 'images' in the context of social history of medicine see the article by Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Medicine and Visual Culture', *Social History of Medicine*, 3, no.1 (1990), 89-99.

Church of Constantinople lacked precision concerning the currents of opinion in the Occident; however it is possible that the confusion was intentional' suggests K. Demaras in his *La Fortune de Voltaire en Grèce*.³²³ The philosophical interests of contemporary Orthodox intellectuals pointed in different directions.

As for those able to access and afford a copy, the language of Landos' *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία* offered the alternative, more demotic, interpretation of matters relating to religion and medicine and the wonders of miraculous healing. Even here, however, the moral dimension of disease was Landos' guiding principle; the subject of medicine made up only a small part of the text which, above all, was devoted to saving souls rather than bodies.

In the highly spiritualised Greek Orthodox society, doctrinal transactions of medical beliefs between the congregation and its clergy, psychological aspects of belief and imagination, models and metaphors to comprehend illness and the struggle to protect one's self from the threat of disease took a special form and meaning. In the process they reveal the intimate, distinctive, multi-layered and compelling relationship between the Orthodox Church, medicine and the community.

³²³ Quoted in Wolff, *The Enlightenment and the Orthodox World*, p. 211.

4. Traditional medicine

We know that we're ignorant and without learning, as it will be revealed by our trickery today, it happens that we call where we can earn a living, among the ignorant who are blind and do not think...for carbuncles, canker, melancholy and jaundice, a woman who is closed and cannot give birth, and those barren who cannot have children we are able to help with herbs...

The Comedy of the Pseudo-doctors

S. Rousmelis³²⁴

Empiricism is traditional medicine. The women, clerics and old people who practice it in the countryside have no relation to the charlatans whom in Italy and France are called empirics (*empiriques*). Acquired experience often does more good here than the seductive practices of the towns.

Baron Emmanouil Theotokis³²⁵

In a deliberate exposure and derision of traditional medical practices, the playwright Savogias Rousmelis (ca 1710-1790) made irregular medicine a feature of his comedy. Completed in 1745, his 'Comedy of the Pseudo-doctors' was written in demotic Greek thereby appealing to the wider Greek community in his native island of Zante and beyond. Rousmelis' satire focuses on the dishonest practices of four 'quack' doctors and ridicules the credulity and the wider prevailing popular vices of Zantiot society. Vlassopoulos (1749-1822), Padua educated lawyer and sometime Divisional Director for Health (*Provveditore alla Sanita*) for the island of Corfu, would rather cast traditional medicine to the winds: 'let there be none of those... who kill patients at a greater rate than the course of nature'.³²⁶ In the opinion of the senior public official, local unqualified healers were detrimental to those living in the country and their bogus remedies only hastened the death of the afflicted.

³²⁴ G. Protopapapa – Bouboulidou, *Savogias Rousmelis* (Athens, n. pub., 1971), pp. 42, 47; The Comedy of the Pseudo-doctors, Act i. 33, Act iv. 203. Also, G. Regatos, 'Empiric healers as a subject of satire – the case of the comedy of pseudo-doctors of Savogias Rousmelis', *Deltos*, 13 (2003), 25-28.

³²⁵ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, pp. 45, 108.

³²⁶ Vlassopoulos, *Στατιστικά Ίστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις* (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), p. 37.

Around the same time, Vlassopoulos' friend and literary collaborator Baron Theotokis shed a somewhat different light on the nature of popular medical practice in the countryside of his native Corfu. Despite the influence of his Western European education and close association with the medical and political Corfiot elite, he was favourably predisposed towards traditional medicine and its importance to the lives of the Greek community.

Importantly, he made a distinction between the practices of countryside healers and those of charlatans residing in urban centres. In his judgement, a country healer was both useful and different and compared favourably to cosmopolitan 'charlatans' with pretensions of medical expertise. For him, Corfiot 'empirics' possessed skills acquired from experience, chance observation and knowledge passed down through the generations; their therapeutic aptitude compared favourably with that of the self-appointed and allegedly advanced healers based in the towns. Those were *charlatans* who also wandered the countryside claiming to possess extraordinary medical skills and made easy money from locals too ready to believe in their bogus remedies (*crédulité*). In the view of the erudite Senator, they should be compelled to stay in the town.

Indeed, it appears that Emmanouil Theotokis' belief in the traditional medicine practised by village 'women, clerics and old people' is shared by some other learned folk. Similarly, the Swedish physician, naturalist and student of Linnaeus Frederick Hasselquist remarked favourably on the success of eighteenth-century Greek 'domestick medicine'.³²⁷

Traditional country healers were a popular source of therapy offering a varying repertoire of remedies for the needy; whether affluent citizens or the poor among the population who looked to 'empirical' therapy as a credible option to the services offered by travelling self-styled medical experts, charlatans, magical healers or Padua-educated *dottori*.

Healers of different therapeutic hues shared in the Greek community's health affairs with the Church, academic physicians and apothecaries. Some offered therapies based on personal experience, learned skill disseminated from one generation to another or Western European sources. Others among

³²⁷ Frederick Hasselquist, *Voyages and Travels in the Levant; In the Years 1749, 50, 51, 52*. (London: Davis & Reymers, 1766), p. 382.

them presented suspect cures, magico-religious or magical remedies, the products of long-held pagan beliefs and customs occasionally interwoven with Orthodox religious practice. As the later studies of R. and B. Blum show, when disease struck, search for cure reflected one's ease-of-access to different healers, their credibility and, importantly, the patients' views on their medical cosmos: its nature, its forces and human power to influence it.³²⁸

Despite the largely unregulated medical world of eighteenth-century Greek society, for those living in small rural communities, transport and financial constraints meant that their choice of healer was limited to self medication, a local wise woman or man and the local priest. For those in towns the choice was greater although largely conditional on one's economic circumstances. Importantly, perceptions of illness and need for a doctor differed from place to place and from one social class to another. The Greek medical world was characterised by a plurality of healers and a plurality of situations. What was 'typical' in Zante may be different to the situation in Chios, Crete or parts of the Morea. Yet, despite their differences, they all shared a number of common characteristics. In the *longue durée* of Ottoman and Venetian rule, social structures, religious beliefs, people's notions on the supernatural and traditional medicine were slow to change.

How far do these findings reflect the medical experience of eighteenth century Greek society? Using the diverse material available, this part of the study will be concerned with the following principal questions: (a) Outside religious and academic medical circles how was illness defined and by whom? (b) How widespread was traditional medicine and what were its features and relationships? (c) What was the role of women in Greek community therapeutics?

4.1 Popular perceptions of disease

In his May 1709 report to the Minister of Marine in Paris, Jean Francois Bonnal, Vice-Consul for France at the Aegean island of Chios, made some interesting remarks on the inhabitants' notions on the meaning of being 'ill'

³²⁸ Blum, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece*, p.121.

and their response to the challenge when confronted by illness. In the rural community of St George the villagers

do not recall that they have ever called for a doctor. When ill, they stay at home and drink warm water. They say it makes the headache go, the only ailment of which they complain... when the contagion is in the island they die quicker than others; without it they believe the village will be too large to support its inhabitants.³²⁹

Initially, the consul's observations suggest an attitude to illness characterised by lack of concern and a good dose of fatalism. However, from the subsequent consular report of July 1717 we learn that, when the plague ravaged the island, 'all the merchants withdraw to the countryside'.³³⁰ Clearly Chiot fatalism was shaped by the nature of the disease, fear, availability of options and the size of one's purse. Consular observations and the plethora of Theotokis's country healers imply a usually energetic attitude on the part of the Greek population towards curing illness and their efforts to avoid it. Nonetheless, Bonal's report does illustrate a community approach to illness that is sensible and based on long experience and practical considerations. Frequently, those falling ill would be familiar with most non-threatening afflictions and take them in their stride. The popular proverb *Ἀρρώστησες, ξαρρώστησες, πές πώς ἐπῆες σ το γάμο* (You fell ill, you pulled through, say you've been to a wedding) suggests that one should suffer with fortitude and, once recovered, reflect upon that illness with pleasure for one's successful recuperation. As for calling the doctor, the citizens of Chios were either poor or not ready to touch their pockets. The proverb *Ἡ δουλειά τά κάνει τᾶσπρα κι ὁ γιατρός τά κάνει πᾶσπρα* (Work creates savings and the doctor 'cleans

³²⁹ *Diplomatic Archive of Chios 1577-1841*, ed. by Philip Argenti, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1954), ii, p. 791; Taken from the Archives Nationales, Fonds Affaires Etrangères, Correspondence Consulaire de Scio, (1696 – 1722).

³³⁰ *Diplomatic Archive of Chios 1577-1841*, p. 793; from Vice-Consul Marigny to His Royal Highness Philippe, Duc D'Orléans.

out') is indicative of the cautious approach to hiring the services of a qualified physician.³³¹

As for the vague response to contagion in regard to its causes, the villagers of Chios were not much different to many among the academic community. Writing from the Levant on the subject of the causes of the plague in the middle of the eighteenth century, Pierre Augustin Guys, member of the academy of Marseilles, reflects

Any one who should undertake to read everything that has been written upon this subject [plague], and to study and digest it, would find himself in a subterraneous obscurity, where the best instructed guide might loose himself... and fall again into the darkness of doubt and uncertainty.³³²

The French physician and traveller to the region Pouqueville mirrors Guy's views on plague: 'so many fruitless attempts have been made, and such a number of remedies proposed, that it is even ridiculous to speak of them'.³³³ Probably, as in most other villages throughout the Greek world, the inhabitants of St. George felt that when contagion visited their community it was inevitable that a number of them would succumb.

For the Chiot villagers, attitudes to illness were determined by a combination of financial and other considerations including a settled community-group inclination not to seek the services of a qualified physician. Lack of funds or ease-of-access to a doctor were not just practical considerations but also habit forming tendencies evolved over time. Greek society was generally used to hardship and exposure to the elements and adequately equipped to recognize most of the ailments affecting their community; their notions of impairment had been molded by the long experience of generations and the trials of eking out a living in a challenging world. Their mental image of disease, of 'being well' or 'being ill', was quite different to that of the aristocratic and cosmopolitan Consul who considered

³³¹ Politis, *Μελέται περί τοῦ Βίου καί τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Λαοῦ* (Studies on the life and language of the Greek people), ii, p. 488 and iii, p.646.

³³² Guys, *A Sentimental Journey through Greece in a series of letters written from Constantinople*, iii, p.143.

³³³ Pouqueville, *Travels through the Morea*, p. 82.

the villagers' attitude to illness sufficiently unusual to induce a comment in his report to the French minister. Such embedded popular approaches in time of illness serve to highlight the degree to which academically qualified medicine was outside the therapeutic horizon of most of the ordinary folk. Those living in the numerous islands of the Aegean and the small agricultural communities to be found throughout the Greek peninsula looked to the immediate family as the first port of call in times of sickness:

I beseech you Lord... do not make him ill,
for illness demands bedclothes and head rests,
a mother to his side, a wife by his head,
a male child to bring cool water.³³⁴

In terms of the relationships between doctor and patient, the world of eighteenth-century Greek society was unregulated, with patients having a free choice of seeking cures, be they from an academic, traditional or religious source. Nevertheless, in the mainly agrarian world of Greek Orthodoxy, capacity to pay and empirical judgment as to 'what remedy works' was what mattered most. This does not suggest that such considerations were exclusively rural. Academically qualified physicians were beyond the financial means of many town dwellers and several of their ailments were of a kind that could be treated in the neighborhood or by other town empirics. The relatively unregulated marketplace engendered a patient sovereignty that would change only after the emergence of the Greek state in the 1830s and wider access to state-funded medicine. Until then, this lower social rank - the majority of the population - continued with its home cures, local empirics and magico-religious healing practices subject to the occasional visit of the itinerant healer. Their views of the understanding of a disease or in seeking out a cure were to prevail well into the nineteenth century.³³⁵

For the Greek community at large, the causes of disease fell into the spheres of the 'physical' and the 'supernatural'. In the first category were

³³⁴ From the poem 'foreign lands' in *Popularia Carmina, Graeciae Recentioris*, ed. By Arnoldus Passow (Lipsig: Teubner, 1860), p.249.

³³⁵ See Georgios Megas, 'Δημώδης Ἱατρική' (Popular Medicine), 163-195; D. V. Economidis, 'Δημώδης Ἱατρική ἐν Θράκῃ' (Popular Medicine in Thace), *Archive of the Folklore and Language Thesaurus of Thrace, B'*, vol 16, 181-228.

illnesses triggered by the physical environment, regimen and old age, whilst in the latter, illness was attributed to preternatural forces beyond the physical world. In the context of the eighteenth century Orthodox community, assumptions about what constituted 'natural / supernatural' were influenced, amongst others, by one's education, theological understanding and place in society. Demarcation along such lines was fluid; for the common man or woman, if spirits had the capability to influence human life, any distinction between the 'natural' and the 'supernatural' became blurred. In the medical cosmology of the Greek society it was as 'natural' to fall ill through the power of a malign spirit as it was to catch a cold through exposure to weather.

4.2 Physical causes of illness

In the personal reflections of E. Theotokis we have first-hand accounts of elite perceptions relating to the physical causes of disease among the Greek community. According to the Baron, extreme irregularity of the atmosphere accounts for bronchial illness. The change of wind direction during the day brought about irregular temperature which suppressed or heightened bodily perspiration. 'It is during such incidences that one observes the appearance of colds and diseases of the chest' (*dérive la plupart des rhumes et les maladies de poitrine*).³³⁶ Such ailments were especially prevalent among overprotected children and those pursuing an idle and languorous life style. In contrast, these afflictions seemed less common amongst the physically active, those living in the countryside, the shepherds, soldiers and manual workers.

In Corfu's climate, excessive meat consumption was considered especially detrimental for persons of delicate and sedentary nature; characteristics which, for Theotokis, typified their social class. Those with ample financial means consumed significant quantities of meat, a habit that frequently came expensive. Eating meat to excess gave rise to bad humours (*humeurs grossières*), obstruction and, if the meat was left to become tender, the resulting sulphur lay at the root of many putrid diseases that afflicted the more prosperous and fragile among the citizens.³³⁷

³³⁶ E. Theotokis, *Détails sur Corfou*, p. 12.

³³⁷ E. Theotokis, *Détails sur Corfou*, p. 39.

Such notions of health and disease were not exclusive to the domain of the learned folk with whom Theotokis associated. Occasionally, they were transmitted orally within the wider Greek community - through academic or lay healers - or gleaned from the instructions recorded in iatrosophic healing manuals. The writer of the eighteenth-century manuscript held in the Monastery of St. Catherine suggests to all those who wish to know how to live according to sound health principles:

In the autumn... shelter from morning cold... In July...
avoid cabbage and excessive wine consumption
because they cause bodily obstructions that lead to
disease. In August avoid [drinking] cold water.³³⁸

Over time, popular proverbs relating to health became signs of shared views on the causes of illness and entered the vernacular language to become a valuable instrument of oral transmission and medical know-how in Greek society. In verse or prose, they expressed in a vivid and memorable manner the discoveries and astute advice of earlier generations. Some were words of ancient wisdom transmitted through the centuries whilst others mirrored the understanding of other Western European or Eastern peoples.

Giving credence to Theotokis' observations and the advice of the St Catherine manual, the proverbs of the wider Greek community corroborate widely held beliefs that some afflictions are due to one's diet or vulnerability to the physical environment:

- *Ακάλεστη δέν ἔρχεται ἡ ἀρρώστια* (Illness does not arrive without being called),
- *Τὸ χειμῶνα ἡ ἀρρώστια σίγουρα ὀρθοποδίζει* (In wintertime, illness for sure stands up / endures) or, in another version,
- *Φτινωπωρινή ἀρρώστια δύσκολα γιатρεύεται* (Autumnal illness is difficult to cure).³³⁹

³³⁸ Μονή Αγ. Αικατερίνης Σινά (Monastery of St Catherine Sina), MS 1916, fols 86, 88.

³³⁹ Politis, *ΠΑΡΟΙΜΙΑΙ* (Proverbs), ii, pp. 483-484. Politis' monumental work was first published in 1899 incorporating the collected proverbs of nineteenth century Greece, those known from Byzantine sources and their comparisons with similar proverbs of other nations in Western Europe and the Ottoman world.

In Theotokis' account, the advice in vernacular manuals and popular Greek proverbs mirror closely the centuries-old philosophy of Hippocrates and popular wisdom shared in neighbouring European societies. According to the Hippocratic corpus, some folk are ill-suited to the sudden changes of daily temperature or the weather conditions associated with particular seasons. Thus, the Hippocratic aphorism on the probable impact of the onset of autumn on human health echoes the language of early modern Greece and its neighbours: 'it is in autumn that diseases tend to be most acute and most likely to prove fatal' whilst 'Nfirmitati autumnali, o longhi o murtali' and 'Freve autunal, o longa, o mortal' offer clear signs of the oral transmission of medical wisdom between the peoples of the Greek peninsula, Sicily and Venice.³⁴⁰

Throughout the Greek community, the vernacular name given to a 'natural' disease reflected

- a) its symptoms expressed directly, by similitude or with the experience associated with such an affliction:
 - Θερμόκριο (Hotcold) for malarial fever
 - Χρύση ('Golden') for the colour of skin when suffering from jaundice
 - Φάγουσαν (A consuming / eating away) skin lesion
- b) symptoms clearly associated with a particular part of a body:
 - Tenderness of the stomach
 - Pain in the mouth
 - Swollen hands
 - Κύλη or Σπάσιμο (The breaking of the tummy) for hernia
- c) perceived cause of the ailment:
 - snake bite
 - Διά να πέσει το ὕστερον (to help the release of the afterbirth)
 - Κακό Σπυρί (Bad spot) for a malignant spot
- d) traditional, classical or foreign nomenclature pronounced correctly or in a number of vernacular versions:

³⁴⁰ Lloyd, *Hippocratic Writings*, p. 213; Politis, *ΠΑΡΟΙΜΙΑΙ* (Proverbs), p. 484.

- Ασκαρίδες (intestinal infection with worms)
- Σκολομέντο (from the Italian for a sexual disease)
- Μαλαθράκι (carbuncle)³⁴¹

However, in the highly spiritualised Greek culture, the demarcation between 'physical' and 'supernatural' diseases was frequently blurred.

A case in point was the celestial part of the cosmos that straddled both the physical and the supernatural with its own impact on human life on earth. Hence, the sun had the power to give warmth but also to cause headaches. The moon, in its different phases, was thought to influence human health in a variety of ways.

Σεληνιασμός was the vernacular term for epilepsy connecting the phases of the moon (Gk Σελήνη) with intermittent epileptic attacks. Epilepsy was a deeply distressing and fear inducing experience for those who witnessed such an attack among their community. The fourteenth century Byzantine theologian Gregorios Palamas (1296 – 1359) gives a vivid account of a man with clear signs of epileptic affliction and in one of his homilies articulates his rationale for the man's demonic possession: 'rolling his eyes... blew out a great deal of foam...it is the brain that first suffers from being possessed... for the demon uses the psychic spirit (ψυχικόν πνεῦμα) in it as a vessel'.³⁴² Studies of modern Greek popular beliefs echo Palamas' erudite aetiology of the affliction and confirm the continuity of such beliefs: 'it was a demonic affect... those who suffered from Σεληνιασμός (moon influence) lost their senses, brought out foam from the mouth and their eye turned'.³⁴³ Hence, in the minds of the Orthodox flock, the mysterious, uncertain and occasionally threatening celestial world induced notions of supernatural forces in play, a popular notion validated by the intellectual authority of the Church.

The resulting fears of mystical celestial forces engendered popular acceptance of portents and divination as a means of helping to explain the

³⁴¹ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, pp. 45-46; MTS, MS 8, fols 201, 204, 207, 208, 213, 217; G. Regatos, *Empiric Healers etc.*, p.25; Economidis, 'Δημώδης Ἱατρική ἐν Θράκῃ' (Popular Medicine in Thace), 181-228 (pp. 183-184).

³⁴² Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology*, pp. 91-93.

³⁴³ Bibi Papaspyropoulou, 'Παραδοσιακή Ἱατρική στήν Πελοπόννησο' (Traditional medicine in Peloponnissos), pp. 329-330.

unknown and give a sense of control over one's fate. According to Richard Clogg, in eighteenth century Greek society, prophecies and oracles 'formed the staple intellectual diet of the masses'.³⁴⁴ In the context of control over potential harm to one's health, contemporary manuscripts point to the popular practice of predictive systems of signs and warnings to guide human protection from illness. They include *Σεληνοδρομία* (predictions relating the phases of the moon), *Μηνολόγια* (predictions relating to the course of the twelve months) and *Βροντολόγια* (prediction of events relating to the occurrence of thunder). In the *Μηνολόγια* the reader is told:

*Εἰς τὰς β' ἔναι κακόν, ὅτι ἀδυνατεῖ πολλὰ τὸ
κορμὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.*

(In the second day [of the moon month], it is bad [to take blood]
for it weakens the human body...

*Εἰς τὰς ε' ἔναι καλόν, ὅτι ἐβγάνει αἷμα καὶ
νερὸν καὶ ἐλαφρώνει τὸ κορμί.*

(In the fifth day it is good [to take blood] for it will bring out
blood and water and lighten the body.³⁴⁵

In the *Βροντολόγια* the reader is advised:

Μῆν Μάιος,

Ἐάν βροντήσῃ νόσον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

May month,

If it thunders it signifies disease among the people...

Τούνιος,

Ἐάν εἰς τὴν αὕξησιν τῆς Σελήνης βροντήσῃ θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία

June,

If it thunders at the stage of moon enlargement it signifies sorrow
and distress³⁴⁶

³⁴⁴ Richard Clogg, 'The Greek mercantile bourgeoisie: Progressive or Reactionary?' in *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*, ed. by R. Clogg (London: Macmillan, 1981), pp. 85-110 (p. 89).

³⁴⁵ CMAAA, MS Iatrosophikos Mariopoulou, fol. 193.

³⁴⁶ MAE, MS 492, fols. 25 - 26.

In the above example from the *Βροντολόγιον* of 'the most wise' Heraklios, the author relates the position of certain celestial forces with certain events, some of which are beneficial and others detrimental to the community. Harmful events include plague, death, and crop failure. Hence, fear engendered by notions transcending human understanding influences people's perception of disease, its character and remedies. This has echoes of David Gentilcore's concept of 'fear as an emotional response to disease'; fear as a factor that determines disease causation.³⁴⁷ The anonymous author of *Iatrosophikos Mariopoulou* recommends appropriate human behaviour to avoid sickness, in this case bloodletting.

Coming to terms with the physical threats, fears and uncertainties surrounding one's health required a variety of intellectual calculations to interpret the hazards and develop a personal strategy to confront them. In this process, the Orthodox congregation was assisted by the literate and powerful input of its clergy who were ideally placed to define and protect them especially when their concerns involved the supernatural.

4.3 Supernatural causes of illness

I thought my cheeks and my one eye showed up handsome,
and my teeth shone back, whiter than Parian marble,
but I spat three times into my bosom, to turn away evil,
as the old woman Cotyttaris had taught me.

Theocritus³⁴⁸

A quick imagination, easily inflamed... sees the plague,
that constant scourge of Greece, traverse the house
night by night, dispensing its poisonous exhalations in
the figure of an old woman dressed in black.

P. A. Guys³⁴⁹

³⁴⁷ David Gentilcore, 'The fear of disease and the disease of fear', in *Fear in early modern society*, ed. by William G. Naphy & Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997), pp. 184-208 (p.186).

³⁴⁸ A. Rist, *The poems of Theocritus* (Chapel Hill: Univ. North Carolina Press, 1978), p. 80; *Damoetas and Daphnis, Idylls*.

³⁴⁹ Guys, *A Sentimental Journey through Greece in a series of letters written from Constantinople*, i, p.179.

Edward Dodwell F.S.A., a visitor to Greece in 1801, 1805 and 1806, recalled his experience relating to Greek community beliefs in the malign influence of supernatural forces: In appreciation of a Corfiot couple's hospitality, Dodwell expressed his admiration for their attractive young children 'whereupon I see their highly agitated grandmother take both children, bring them close to me and demand from me to spit at their faces'.³⁵⁰ A fellow guest explained that the grandmother was asking him to perform a kind of exorcism to avert the misfortune that may threaten the children from evil spirits, a consequence of his admiring remarks. Dodwell had become the innocent source of *βασκανία* (malign influence / evil eye), a popular Greek belief that demonic forces can use the admiring human as an instrument of affliction against their more fortunate or virtuous neighbours. *Βασκανία* occupied a central place among the supernatural causes of illness within the Greek community. It was thought to have particular potency on good looking children and those who were successful or fine-looking. The bewitching person might not be aware of his or her power nor have harmful intent. Assuming one was blessed with such a cause for concern, the traditional lay method of avoiding misfortune was the discharge of spit upon one's person.

Orthodoxy portrayed spiritual life in images of the struggle between evil forces and the goodness of God and his saints, martyrs, and angels. Given that Orthodox Church fathers accepted the notion of *φθόνος* (envy) as an enabler of demonic impact on human health (see chapter on religious healing), it was predictable that the Greek community at large would embrace this ancient belief in its wider, popular variety as witnessed by Theocritus in the fourth century BCE and Edward Dodwell over two thousand years later.

In his exploration of how alien images are constructed and debated in the daily life of modern Greeks, Charles Stewart has shown how Orthodox Church treatment of the concept of *φθόνος* (envy) - and implicitly its constituent element of personal harm - seems to have given special importance and value to a popular belief that is ordinarily encountered in the

³⁵⁰ E. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour Through Greece, during the years 1801, 1805 and 1806*, 2 vols (London: Rodwell and Martin, 1819), i, pp. 35-36; Guys, *A Sentimental Journey through Greece in a series of letters written from Constantinople*, i, p. 177; *The Evil Eye, A Folklore Casebook*, ed. by A. Dundes (London: Garland, 1981), pp. 107-123.

daily lives of the Greek community. According to Stewart, Church action 'offers a paradigm case of how literacy may interact with local practice to generate a great tradition that only appears to be something different.'³⁵¹ In addition, it shows that belief in preternatural causes of illness was not exclusive to the uneducated masses but found adherents among the learned section of Greek society. Hence, elevated by formal, religious intellectual discourse and authority, *Βασκανία* and the demonic assumed a central place in Greek medical cosmology and the lives of the community.

Over the centuries, Greek culture was nourished by such vibrant tradition and religious beliefs; where supernatural forces occupied centre stage in daily life and diseases were frequently linked to individual morality and long held notions about evil spirits acting against humans. *Βασκανία* was just one aspect of sickness that could be brought about by *ἐξωτικά* (*Exotiká*), a broad term for malevolent demonic spirits or magical forces acting by themselves or deployed by certain humans for the detriment of someone among their community. The name of *Exotiká* (in the vernacular *xotika*) means 'those of the outside' or 'of the other world' attesting the popular belief that these were thought to be entities of a distinct existence in the realm of the spirit world - demons and other evil forces. They comprised of a disordered set of popular beliefs and opinions which included *Λάμιες* (*Lamies* / female creatures found near water from where they would attack people), *Νεράϊδες* (*Neraides* / beautiful women capable of causing loss of voice), *Στοιχειά* (*Stoichia* / spirits inhabiting places such as houses, ruins, trees and wells), *Βρυκόλακες* (*Vrykolakes* / vampires), *Φαντάσματα* (*phantasmata* / ghosts of dead people), *Γελλοῦ* (*Gello* / a female spirit that attacks unchurched mothers and newborn children), and *Πανούκλα* (*Panoukla* / a disease-bearing woman).³⁵²

In the context of popular explanations for illness, the natural human need to understand disease or explain abstract notions such as *Exotiká* found

³⁵¹ Stewart, *Demons and the Devil*, p. 235.

³⁵² Megas, *Ζητήματα Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφίας* (*Aspects of Greek Folklore*), Issue 2, [1941-42], pp. 77-100; in addition, Stewart's *Demons and the Devil*, pp. 100-101 and 135-191, and Green field, *Traditions of belief*, pp. 186-187.

some answers in their 'anthropomorphization'; that is in attributing human characteristics to a disease or one of its features. This was one way of looking at nature in human terms. Ascribing distinctive features to the world of illness brought relevance to people's emotions as human beings and reflected their need to understand it and come to terms with it. Typically, the name for a skin lesion inducing necrosis was *Φάγουσα*, an affliction of female nature whose characteristic was to 'consume' or 'eat away' flesh. The signs of *Erysipelas*, an acute, some times recurrent disease, characterised by large, raised skin patches were described as: 'if it happens for someone to have female *πυρό* (*erysipelas*) then it reappears... the male version, if you cross it two, three times, does not reappear'.³⁵³ In ascribing distinctive features to an abstract malign force such as the plague people attributed to it values that reflected their aversion and fear of contagion. Hence, they portrayed plague as the sinister old hag and the devil as a dark, reptilian creature. (Illustration 17) At the same time, in anthropomorphising illness and investing it with negative values - old age, ugliness, darkness – they made it appear vulnerable and capable of defeat. To some extent, the process of expressing malign forces in human terms was facilitated by the Church. The restoration of the veneration of icons was proclaimed by a synod in 843 CE.³⁵⁴ Disease and other demons featured in Greek Orthodox iconography and in particular in the lives of saints or scenes in the gospels. With the popularisation of icons and other religious paintings, iconography became one vehicle where the demonic displayed its physical features at the local level, thereby becoming more visible and immediate to the Orthodox congregation. (Illustration 18)

In early modern Greek culture oral transmission was another powerful vehicle for the 'anthropomorphization' of *Exotiká* and disease. First-hand examples are given by Theotokis, Guys and Pouqueville when they familiarise their readers with aspects of Greek beliefs and give a flavour of local notions on Spirits, Spectres, Demons and disease bearing spirits in human form:

³⁵³ Megas, 'Δημώδης Ἱατρική' (Popular Medicine), p. 164.

³⁵⁴ George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, rev. edn (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969), p.219.

Can you hear the howling of the wind? It is the spirit of
a dead evil man. Do not go at night to the palace ruins,
they are occupied by demons...³⁵⁵

Diseases with human features included popular representations of the plague. As Guys noted, plague was one of the *Exotiká*, a hideous spectre in the character of a 'frightful monster, instigated by some wrathful or exterminating God, dealing destruction on earth'.³⁵⁶ Pouqueville confirms Guys' observations from his own experience of the plague at Nauplia. Inhabitants of the town advised him strongly:

that great care must be taken not to answer if you should be
called during the night; if you hear symphonies, bury your
self in the bed-clothes, and do not listen to them; it is the
old woman, it is the plague itself that knocks at your door.³⁵⁷

In his *De Graecorum hodie quorundam opinionibus* (On certain modern opinions among the Greeks) the seventeenth-century physician and theologian Leo Allatios offered an extensive commentary on *Exotiká* based on ancient beliefs, contemporary sources and his own experience in the Aegean island of Chios. In the cases of *Exotiká* such as *neraides* or *gelló*, Leo Allatios provides the bulk of otherwise scarce seventeenth century evidence in relation to their image in popular culture: demons with female features and a capacity to harm humans in a variety of ways. For instance, contact with the *gello* 'causes internal damage to a child that prevents it from eating and slowly brings about its death'.³⁵⁸ The female nature of the *neraides* and *gello* rests with their association with envy for lack of children. Frustrated by their desire for marriage and childbearing, these demons set out to hamper family life by seducing men, attacking women and harming children. Confirming the continuity of popular beliefs regarding these demonic entities, recent anthropological and folkloric studies have shown that, to a significant extent,

³⁵⁵ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, p. 55.

³⁵⁶ Guys, *A Sentimental Journey through Greece in a series of letters written from Constantinople*, iii, p. 146.

³⁵⁷ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 189.

³⁵⁸ Hartnap, *On the Beliefs of the Greeks' Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy*, p. 149.

modern Greek beliefs echoed the popular notions identified in Allatios' observations.³⁵⁹

Other times, unspecified demonic forces were thought to cause illness acting on their own or through purposeful manipulation by a person intending to harm another. The former case is exemplified in the iatrosophic manuscript of the Monastery of St Catherine. The eighteenth-century healing manual suggests a simple method to ascertain whether the afflicted person is possessed by demonic spirits:

In cases when a person is beside oneself and some say that he has a demon... Give to him honey and if he does not eat it, then he has the demon.³⁶⁰

In the language of the iatrosophic text, we get a sense that the notion of demonic influence in Orthodox public life was regarded as a commonplace experience. Moreover, the question is not whether the text offered a correct diagnostic procedure for demonic possession but that the writer and most probably many of his readers were of a mind to accept it. Importantly, the iatrosophic text both reflects and lends its authority to such popular notions. Some people believed that abnormal psychological behaviour may indeed be the outcome of *μαγγανεία* (harm caused by other persons deploying supernatural means).

Iatrosophic manuals of the St Catherine type were associated with learned elites, whether lay individuals or clerics, who, by association, validated the text by their scholarly public image. Importantly, the notions expressed in the texts were not just intangible concepts but, in the experience of the majority, witnessed by regular empirical evidence. As the legal cases in Corfu show, (see chapter on religious healing) psychological illness did occur in contemporary Greek society and exorcisms to cure the affliction were a familiar community practice. From Theotokis we learn of the existence of

³⁵⁹ Stewart, *Demons and the Devil*, pp. 252-253; Nikolaos Politis, 'Αἱ ἀσθένειαι κατὰ τοὺς μύθους τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ' (Illnesses according to the myths of the Greek people), *Laografika Simikta*, 3 (1931), 64-100 (p.82).

³⁶⁰ MSCS, MS 1916, fol. 64.

female persons actively engaged in secret magical arts that included both the ability to cause harm and exorcise disease:

their art excels by assuring converts that they have
the powers to weaken the sturdiest of husbands or
restore to health persons suffering from diseases
considered incurable by professional doctors.³⁶¹

Belief in the supernatural causes of illness or the magico-religious arts of these folk was not universal. Some among the more enlightened (*plus éclairés*) Corfiot community derided their alleged power. Nevertheless, the predisposition of the wider community, aided by Church acceptance of the demonic, was other than Enlightenment 'rationalism', that is the principle of basing opinions and actions on reason and knowledge rather than on religious belief or emotional response. For them, illness could be caused by demonic forces acting on their own or manipulated by others.

Quasi-liturgical creeds and formulae associated with causing personal harm took many forms. According to the French traveller Sonnini, 'there is no Greek who upon marriage is not afraid of being *tied*' (*ne redoute d'être lié*).³⁶² The tying of a couple was believed to be a magic ritual similar to the French *nouer l'aiguillette* and involving the invocation of demons by the tying of knots into a cord during a marriage ceremony. The intention of the enactor was to bring about the bridegroom's impotence, physical decline and, unless the marriage was dissolved, death. Sonnini relates a personal experience of a young bridegroom who came to believe that he was the target of such an act. From the vantage point of the young couple, belief in their enchantment was real. In anguish they sought the help of priests and old women who claimed to know the secrets of exorcising such an affliction – his inability to consummate the marriage. In the account of Sonnini we note the numerous rituals enacted with the willing participation of the groom and, occasionally, his betrothed in the hope of cure. Nothing succeeded. The alleged *μαγανεία* (maleficium /

³⁶¹ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, pp. 122-123.

³⁶² C.S. Sonnini in *Ἡ Χίος παρά τοῖς γεωγράφοις καί περιηγηταῖς* (Chios according to geographers and travellers), ed. by P. Argenti and S. Kiriakidis, 3 vols (Athens: Estia, 1946), iii, p. 1705. This work is a collection of the original texts of Western visitors to the island.

harm by occult means) resisted all religious and magical intercessions to reverse its impact and ultimately the marriage was dissolved. Subjected to extreme mental torment, the groom's condition deteriorated (*réduit à un état qui inspirait la pitié*).³⁶³ Sonnini's account is not unusual; In December 1684, the ecclesiastical court of Corfu is shown to approve the annulment of the marriage of Eleneta Vareli citing 'inventions of evil people who tied (*ἀπόδεσαν*) the couple thereby disabling their capacity for intercourse'.³⁶⁴ In a later case, the French vice-consul Saint-Sauveur, resident in the Ionian islands (1781-1798) and speaker of the Greek language, refers to the custom also known as *ἀμπόδεμα*.³⁶⁵ Importantly, at the juridical and doctrinal level, the matter was formally considered by the highest religious authority in Corfu and the supernatural character of the problem was formally validated. Popular notions of the causes of physical impediment were re-enforced by both secular and high religious authority.

For diseases with perceived preternatural causes such as epilepsy and vapours - feelings of faintness, nervousness or depression – and other kinds of complications, people sought recourse to an array of magico-religious incantations and rituals. Representative of the genre, the following is recommended for those unable to sleep and is contained in an iatrosophic manuscript written in the province of Lacedaemon in the Morea ca1723 CE:

Write the following on a roof tile that comes from a church with a lance usually carried by a priest: God the Holy who put Adam to sleep in Paradise and Avimelech by the great fig tree and the seven holy children of Ephesus in the cave, put to sleep your servant ... sleep of life in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit... and when you write it, place [the tile] under the pillow and they will sleep.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ Sonnini in *Ἡ Χίος παρά τοῖς γεογράφοις καί περιηγηταῖς* (Chios according to geographers and travellers), iii, p. 1706

³⁶⁴ Kapadochos, 'Ἡ ἀπονομή της δικαιοσύνης στην Κέρκυρα ἀπο τοὺς μεγάλους πρωτοπαπάδες τὴν ἐνετικὴ περίοδο (1604-1797' (The dispensation of justice in Kerkyra by the High Protopriests during the period of Venetian rule (1604-1797), pp. 273-274.

³⁶⁵ Simopoulos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στὴν Ἑλλάδα*, (Foreign Travellers to Greece), ii, pp. 516-517.

³⁶⁶ CMAAA, MS Iatrosophikos Mariopoulou fol. 99

Thus, magico-religious healing rituals outside the liturgical framework of the official Orthodox Church brought together the symbolic power of a church object and the force of church prayer. Similarly, the healing ritual of *πέρασμα* (passing through) embraced the idea of 'transference' that is the redirection of illness away from the sufferer onto another entity assisted by a ritual involving unusual objects. In 1803, the Prussian traveler Bartholdy noted the practice of sick persons in which they 'passed through' a rock cavity near *Aeropagus* in Athens and left behind items of their clothing, a custom known as *Τζάτζαλα*, which has been recorded in more recent times also.³⁶⁷ The popular notion was that unusual earth or rock cavities had magical powers capable of cleansing the diseased body from its affliction through the process of 'passing through'; a kind of modern day body scan with capacity to heal. The practice mirrored the ritual observed in Orthodox Church litanies when the saint's icon passes over those seeking cure. The custom of leaving an item of clothing by the afflicted was believed to allow the disease to leave one's body discarded with the item of clothing. Recourse to locations with a healing *πέρασμα* (passing through), were decisions taken by the patients, their family or their close community.

Notwithstanding the clear position of the official Orthodox Church in its prohibition of the use of magic, in situations involving the 'public good', the Church set aside its objections and its clerics adopted a more ambivalent attitude to the practice. The use of paranormal ceremonies by laypersons or the clergy to restore people's health extended beyond the nuptial chamber. *Κάρφωμα* (nailing) or *Καταπασσάλευσις* (staking) was a known magical ritual within the scope of forbidden practices identified in Christian Canon Law.³⁶⁸ Based on the concept of 'analogy', these magical acts were attempts to harm

³⁶⁷ J. L. S. Bartholdy, *Voyage en Grèce, fait dans les années 1803 et 1804*, 2 vols (Paris: Dentu, 1807), ii, pp. 57-58; Nikolaos Politis, 'Αἱ ἀσθένειαι κατὰ τοὺς μύθους τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ' (Illness according to Greek myths), pp. 97-99; Also, Georgios Megas, 'Μαγικά καὶ δεισιδαίμονες συνήθειαι' (Magical and superstitious practices), *Laografia*, 5 and 6 (1943 – 1944), 5-58 (p. 32); N. Moutsopoulos, *Τὰ Τζάτζαλα*, (The Tzatzala) (Thessaloniki, University Studio Press, 2000); Paraskevopoulos, *Αἱ ἐν Ἠλείᾳ Μαγικαὶ Ἐπωδαί* (The magical incantations of Ilia), pp. 146-147; G. Regatos, *Λεξικό Ιατρικῆς Λαογραφίας* (Dictionary of Greek Medical Folklore), pp. 335-337.

³⁶⁸ See *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ Τερῶν Κανόνων* (Constitution of the Divine and Holy Canons), iv, 67.

or assist a person or the community at the time of sickness. The process involved mystical invocations combined with the piercing of an article (effigy, image, animal, cloth) with a sharp object such as a nail, knife or a thorn.

A case involving *Κατάδεσμα* (the magical act of 'binding') was the *Κάρφωμα* (nailing) of the plague in Zante. In the encyclical of 12th March 1728, the archbishop of Zante and Kefalonia noted 'on the 6th day of March in a number of sites of this town (Zante) there took place the nailing of the plague'.³⁶⁹ The enchanter involved was a Georgios Xenos, who demanded of the authorities one ducat towards the cost of the nails and the construction of a church in a place of his choice. Today, Zantiots attribute the church of St. Charalambos to this event. In the medical cosmology of Sonnini's betrothed and eighteenth-century Zantiot society the borders between religion and magic had become interwoven.

Cultural perceptions and practices of this sort permeated the lives of the community and this was not unique to Greek people. As Stuart Clark and others have shown 'all over early modern Europe, ordinary people regularly appealed not to their consciences or to the collective conscience of the Church but to local practitioners skilled in healing, divination, and astrology to help with their everyday problems'.³⁷⁰

What of the wider Church position in this matter? Given the almost comprehensive acceptance of the supernatural in Orthodox life and the unfavourable socio-political conditions of the eighteenth century, it was difficult for the Church to instigate especially forceful measures to eliminate such practices or adopt a programme of severe prosecution against the malefactors of the kind associated with parts of Italy, Spain and Portugal. It is unlikely that the Venetian Senate or the Sublime Porte would have given their approval to such extreme methods in their territories. In contrast with other areas of Catholic Europe, the Inquisition was discouraged by Venice and there are no records of any public sentence against a witch in the Ionian islands. Nevertheless, the holy St Chrysostom's instructions to the Christians of

³⁶⁹ Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὴν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμὸς* (Byzantine Life and Civilisation), vi, p. 184.

³⁷⁰ Clark, *Thinking with Demons, The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, p. 457.

Thessaloniki left no doubt as to the need for the Church to guard against such practices:

Those who fall ill and do not consent to being exorcised,
or ease their sickness with incantations and tying of knots,
but stand brave and endure, receive the crown of martyrdom.³⁷¹

Over the centuries there were vigorous efforts to introduce canon law aiming at the eradication of magical practices including those relating to sickness. Typically, canon 61 of the sixth Ecumenical Synod (680 CE) prohibited specific magical practices and sanctioned penalties for charmers, makers of amulets, and diviners. Importantly, the canon recommended the defrocking of clerics who sought to cure disease by reading to those sick 'the paper of *gello*', the same spirit invoked in Leo Allatios' seventeenth century Chios and Charles Stewart's twentieth century Naxos.³⁷² Nevertheless, magical practices linked to causing and healing human affliction continued as enthusiastically as before.

Manuscript 734 of the monastery of Iviron in Mount Athos contains a list of seventeenth-century supernatural practices prohibited by the Church. It belongs to a category of documents written for the guidance of local clergy and, significantly, gives plentiful contemporary examples of transgressions in order to facilitate clerical judgement on similar practices:

On any charm, divination and tying of knots and other
Hellenic (pagan) customs, foolishly performed by unknown
women under the influence of evil demons, allegedly
for one's health and recuperation from sickness ... who
practice charms for pains of the lymph glands, headache,
the spleen, teeth, rheumatics, neck, heart pain, cough...
or with the hair of the patient they seize the sickness
allegedly caused by *βασκανία* (malign influence / evil eye)...
or use the teeth, bones or eyes of wolves as personal protection,
which they cross and place around the neck on a cord...

³⁷¹ Πηδάλιον (Rudder), p. 274.

³⁷² Πηδάλιον (Rudder), p. 273.

they fumigate for the purpose of healing... or rub their hands
 in the sun to force out the disease... those tying knots or
 untying knots for married couples with demonic action...
 who believe on a good or bad birth, day...or study the calends...
 keep amulets made with herbs, cord or written papers with
 indecipherable characters, pentacles... knots, silk thread...
 women who charm disease and suffering with their sickles ...
 or write letters for malaria... to be eaten for good health.³⁷³

The lengthy manuscript impresses by the range and volume of supernatural practices; sixteen folio sides that emphasize the high level of community involvement with the paranormal and the importance of magical remedies for many among its traditional healers. As in western early modern Europe, 'whatever orthodox clerics might wish, there was tremendous scope for a do-it-yourself magical religion of this kind'.³⁷⁴

4.4 Practitioners in 'Traditional Medicine'

Empirics abound in Corfu, they principally trust to herbs, charms, and exorcisms. With them, an infallible cure for acute ophthalmia is the sign of the cross seven times over the diseased eye.

John Hennen, M.D., F.R.S.E.³⁷⁵

I, doctor Papadakis settled with [the villagers] of Piotes
 to have me as a doctor until my and their lives' end, to heal
 them from injuries, fall, avoid illness and pain and to take
 blood every May; [my reward] from each home will be
 a basin of clean wheat, a day's labour... and whoever is
 compensated for injury, one-third of it will be for me.

Maniot empiric Papadakis³⁷⁶

³⁷³ Nikolaos Politis, "Ἐν κεφάλαιον νομοκάνονος περί γοητειῶν, μαντειῶν καὶ δεισιδαιμονιῶν" (A chapter of a canon law on charms, divinations and superstitions), *Laografia* 3 (1911), 381-389.

³⁷⁴ Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbors, the Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (New York: Viking, 1996), p.102.

³⁷⁵ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 204.

³⁷⁶ Ἱστορική καὶ Ἐθνολογική Ἑταιρεία τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Historical and Ethnological Society of Athens), MS 214, fol. 8.

Throughout town and country, the Greek community met a great deal of its therapeutic needs by self medication or access to a variety of traditional healers. They included local 'empirics', men or women, who had become skilled in some aspect of the healing arts, priests who combined religious and natural healing, midwives, drug sellers and travelling specialists. For John Hennen, army officer and military surgeon, Corfu's 'abundant' empirics were of limited use to its citizens and unworthy of lengthy mention. With a palpable sense of professional disdain he acquaints his reader with the poverty of Corfiot empirics' skill who offered but a prayer of exorcism as the sole remedy for inflammation of the eye.

In contrast, for many of the inhabitants of Mani in the southernmost part of the Greek peninsula, the empiric Papadakis offered a valuable service for which a number of Maniot villages were prepared to enter into an a long-term contract. In the personal notebook of that healer we find a first-hand account of the various agreements he entered into with the villagers and hundreds of brief notes relating to his medical work with named patients. In return for his services, every household was obliged to pay him annually and in kind: wheat, wine, free labour and, in the case of compensation for one of his patients, a third of the settlement.

Empirics

Papadakis is not unusual for his skill but for his presence in an especially rural and isolated community such as Mani between the years 1716 and 1763. He came from the local village of Lagia and it is probable that he is one of a long line of healers in the Lagiot family of 'Giatrakis' - a vernacular version of *ιατρός* (iatros / doctor) - who practised medicine in that locality until the end of the nineteenth century.³⁷⁷ Clearly, the citizens of Mani were at odds with Hennen's assessment on local health services. Papadakis' surgical skills were especially valuable to the Maniots who, besides their natural afflictions, were frequently attended for wounds received in violent encounters. In his visit to the region Pouqueville quickly became aware of the Maniot habit for

³⁷⁶ *Ιστορική καί Έθνολογική Έταιρία της Ελλάδος* (Historical and Ethnological Society of Athens), MS 214, fol. 8.

³⁷⁷ D. V. Dimitrakos – Mesiklis, *Οι Νυκλιανοί* (Nyklianoi) (Athens: Dimitrakos, 1949), p.199.

conflict: 'united among themselves when they have a foreign enemy to combat, the Maniots as soon as the danger is past are seen to abandon themselves to dissensions at home, which often terminate in dyeing their hands with blood'.³⁷⁸ The signed agreement of 20th July 1723 between Papadakis and the villagers of Afougia notes his specific obligation 'to heal them of wounds received in battle' (μακελαρίσματα).³⁷⁹ Wounds of that type in the conflicts between Maniot clans were not unusual, indeed they were expected and the opportunities to learn and practice surgery frequent.

A representative list of cases from Papadakis' notebook shows that surgery featured strongly in both men and women and related to injuries received in armed conflict; knife, shot or stone wounds being the most common (Appendix 1). It should be noted this list does not show those who died. Naturally, a number of the injured succumbed to their wounds. In addition to injuries, Papadakis recorded treatments for mouth ulcers, burns and specific pains. In spite of his obligation to 'take blood every May' no mention of this activity is made in the notebook. Perhaps such commonplace events were not considered worthy of inclusion. Occasionally, this empiric made a point of recording major traumas with a rough drawing of the injury to which he refers. (Illustration 19)

From the notebook record one realizes that this healer had acquired considerable surgical skills although there is no mention of a medical apprenticeship. Many of his operations involved the cutting, removing and excising of bone, stone and bullet fragments, stitching wounds and providing effective post operative care: 'I healed Michalis Foutrakis; a bullet in the left breast. It took the nipple and went under the short rib. He stayed speechless and many times close to death but recovered'.³⁸⁰ The case record of this surgeon suggests that despite the absence of anaesthetics and antiseptic, a good number of his patients recovered: over four hundred and ninety cases entailing bullet, knife and stone injuries, burns, falls and other serious afflictions. The nature of his patients' injuries required a good knowledge of






³⁷⁸ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 103.

³⁷⁹ HESA, MS 214, fol. 15; from the Italian *ma'cello* for slaughter, massacre.

³⁸⁰ HESA, MS 214, fol. 49.

anatomy, high levels of manual dexterity in the use of forceps and - for his period - the appreciation and practice of infection prevention and control.

The notebook reveals the chronology, geographical spread and depth of internecine conflicts among Maniot clans. Especially useful are contemporary anatomic terms and other demotic descriptions of injuries and disease. The notes of Papadakis are extremely laconic yet highly significant. Maniot healers were not immune to a dose of conflict in times of strife. The signed binding agreements between the healer and named representatives from each village legitimated the obligation of each family when the annual payment for his services became due. Moreover, in the brief notes naming each patient and the affliction and outcome of their treatment, each household is also clear as to the healer's service to the family in its hour of need.

Yet, rarely does Papadakis allow one to see behind the medical man. 'I healed my uncle Bothos with two sword injuries on the forehead; I saw some miracles but I cannot put them on paper' is a rare example of his medical prognosis as to the probability of this patient's recovery. Undoubtedly, a high number of his patients succumbed to their injuries. As the notebook shows, these were armed conflicts - death was to be expected. In some of the notebook pages, a significant number of names appear on their own; without any reference to their afflictions or recovery; others have different styles of crosses or other drawings next to them: , , , , .³⁸¹ It is probable that this is the healer's personal record of those who died and cryptic details of his dealings with named individuals or their families. Without his insight, the histories of these patients will remain hidden. Throughout the notebook there is no hint of supernatural practice; just down-to-earth surgical skill. In the signed agreements for his services the Maniot empiric and his community refer to him as *γιατρός Παπαδάκης* (doctor Papadakis), the term used for university-qualified physicians. Whatever the quality of his therapeutic provision those for whom he cared thought of him as such.

In many respects Papadakis matches the skill of some Albanian empiric surgeons and their Greek counterparts much admired by the physician

³⁸¹ HESA, MS 214, fols 15 - 16.

Pouqueville. He had the opportunity to acquaint himself with local surgical practices during his long stay in the province. Frequently in the military service of some Ottoman potentate, Albanians had learned to treat wounds and fractures, a common episode in a soldier's life:

Their surgical instruments consist of a little iron rod which they use as a probe, a forceps with a bill-head, with which the splinters of a fractured bone are extracted; another sort of forceps with rings; and razors which are used instead of bistouries... they invent bandages for fractures, or to compress vessels the positions of which they have no idea; these rough sketches are not unworthy the attention of persons practised in the surgical art.³⁸²

In relative proximity to the Albanian province lived a group of healers from Epirus known throughout the Greek peninsula. Residing in the villages around the mountain region of Zagori, they were known as *καλογιατροί* (*kaloiatrí* / good doctors) or *Βιχογιατροί* (*vikoiatrí* / doctors from the mountain of Vikos). Their medical expertise was developed over generations, passing acquired knowledge from father to son and master to pupil, indicative of the great value of oral knowledge and apprenticeship in the acquisition of surgical skill. Pouqueville appears to have witnessed personally the *καλογιατροί* in action during his later travels to the region in 1806, naming and praising especially those from the village of Liaskovo:

...it is next to incredible with what success these practitioners operate in certain cases on their patients. They excel, for instance, in the cure for the strangulated hernia; and whatever remuneration they are to receive for their services, they always stipulate for the part taken off, which they inflate and display at the end of a reed as at once a mark of their

³⁸² Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 196. The French physician showers praises on the Albanians' ability to operate in cases of inguinal hernia 'with surprising and constant success'. 'In possession of the consul's signed report', he gives a highly detailed account of the procedure for such an operation performed on his friend Fauvel, well-known French sub-consul and antiquarian. See Pouqueville, *Travels through the Morea*, pp. 85-86.

profession, and a proof of their success... Some Liaskovites even operate in lithotomy and the ocular cataract.³⁸³

High praise indeed from a French academic physician and associate of the Royal Academy of Marseilles. Pouqueville's positive opinion of Zagori's healers was shared by others including some Ottoman potentates. The Zagorian empiric Paschaloglou or Paschalis was invited to serve the Sultan in the early part of the nineteenth century.³⁸⁴ Over the period 1746 – 1753 a number of documents show the empiric surgeon Diamantis from the village Papniko (possibly present Papingo in Zagori) carrying out a number of hernia operations in Crete.³⁸⁵ In Diamantis' case at least, it seems, initial success brought further rewards.

Interestingly, in the process of acquainting himself with the work of *καλογιατροί*, Pouqueville became aware of the Zagori empirics' custom of conversing 'in code' when communicating aspects of their medical dealings to each other. He gives us the following words which do not have any obvious connection with contemporary demotic or formal Greek but were understood and circumscribed within their group:

Καταφιανός - physician, charlatan, deceiver

Βιζιόνειν - consider

Τοῦφα - house

Καραντισούλης - governor, pasha

Κοτοῦρος – money, silver

Σουφρώνειν – take hold of, swindle³⁸⁶

Similar practices to that of the Zagori empirics were encountered regularly in the coded language of other skill groups in eighteenth-century Greece such as stone masons and goldsmiths. Frequently, their language

³⁸³ F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Travels in Epirus, Albania, Macedonia and Thessaly* (London: Phillips, 1820), pp. 44-45.

³⁸⁴ Sarros, 'Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἠπείρῳ, Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη Συνθηματικῶν Γλωσσῶν' ('On the coded languages of Epirus, Macedonia and Thraki'), p. 526.

³⁸⁵ Detorakis, 'Πρακτικοὶ γιατροὶ καὶ ἀγύρτες στὴν Τουρκοκρατούμενη Κρήτη' (Empiric doctors and quacks in Crete under Ottoman rule), p. 16.

³⁸⁶ F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 6 vols (Paris: Didot, 1826), i, pp. 204 -205.

idiom used neologisms giving new meaning to known words or words borrowed from a foreign language:

- Spoken words: 'ὥς τή σκοτεινή τουφεκώνει'
- General vernacular meaning of the phrase: 'he / she shoots until dark'
- Healer meaning: 'he / she will be dead by nightfall'.³⁸⁷

Clearly, the *καλογιατρός*' coded vocabulary of disease was intended to differentiate the layman from his physician. Client inability to comprehend the language of the empiric had its advantages and the reasons might be economic, psychological or, in extreme cases, a matter of personal security.

Pouqueville alludes to the Zagori empirics' lack of understanding Latin' (*comme ils ne savent pas le latin*); a predictable and revealing observation by the French academic physician.³⁸⁸ In eighteenth-century, academic training in Western Europe generally used Latin as the language medium for medical studies. Perhaps like an earlier English surgeon, the French physician cannot conceal his surprise for such high surgical skill despite the Zagori empirics' lack of academic training: 'who as it is thought hath small understanding in the Latine tongue, howsoever it is knowen, that he is not unskilful in anie part of this arte of Chyrurgerie'.³⁸⁹

The coded language of the Zagori empirics and use of Latin in Western medical circles draw attention to the subject of language and its importance in regulating the flow of information to serve the interests of a specific group. Its value had been recognised by other, mainstream and state-sanctioned professions. Theotokis castigates the lawyers of Corfu for their insistence on carrying court hearings in the Italian language:

The request [for peasants] to pay for translations every
time they need to defend their cause, the language of
the Bar is not the national language; the necessity to pay

³⁸⁷ Triantafyllidis, 'Ελληνικές Συνθηματικές Γλώσσες (Greek Coded Languages), p. 668.

³⁸⁸ Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, i, p. 204.

³⁸⁹ Andrew Wear, 'Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700' in *The Western Medical Tradition, 800 BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), pp 215-369 (pp. 297-298);

Quoted by the learned English surgeon William Clowes in acknowledgement of the skills of the famous surgeon Ambroise Paré who had been trained by apprenticeship and wrote in French rather than the Latin of academically educated physicians.

writers in order to draft a petition or certificate, considering that on the whole [peasants] cannot write.³⁹⁰

Clearly, restricted access to knowledge enhanced popular perceptions of expertise and protected skill-group interests. Considered from a positive perspective, the coded language of *καλογιατρός* and his assistants helped in preventing unpleasant revelations to the patient or his family during diagnosis or surgical procedure. On the other hand, the secretive nature of their discourse occasionally led to the edge of what may be moral, ethical or strictly legal practice.

Zagori empirics functioned in an individually testing and socio-politically unpredictable setting. One of the unavoidable aspects in the life of a travelling healer was his frequent journeying from one destination to the next, always the stranger, 'the other'. His was the peripatetic lifestyle of a nomad; vulnerable and uncertain. Yet, for this 'outsider' the demands of earning a living required a great deal of fanfare and public display: 'through towns and villages he would pass crying "here's the great doctor, the great surgeon has arrived"'.³⁹¹ Public doubt was a permanent feature of his occupation as eighteenth-century medicine did not work every time. The relationship with his patients and their families was subject to tension and mistrust.

In the Greek part of the Ottoman Empire there was scant regulation to approve and protect those who gave and received medical services. The exceptions were the officially sanctioned pharmacies protecting the Serenissima's drug monopoly in the provinces under Venetian rule and the legal agreements drawn by local authorities on behalf of a surgeon and a prospective patient and his family. Such agreements were enacted especially in cases of surgery for hernia. The chief aims here were to secure payment and, more important, to protect the surgeon 'in the event of his patient's death as a consequence of the operation and divine will' (*θεία βουλήσει*).³⁹²

Perhaps paradoxical to the modern mind, in the deeply religious Greek world, the will of God played a key part in assisting both patient and surgeon

³⁹⁰ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, p. 44.

³⁹¹ Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, i, p. 205.

³⁹² Detorakis, 'Πρακτικοί γιατροί καί αγύρτες στην Τουρκοκρατούμενη Κρήτη' (Empiric doctors and quacks in Crete under Ottoman rule), p. 16.

in a variety of ways. Throughout the surgical operation God's will directed a positive or negative outcome. God's will may be that the sick should be healed or called to Him. Either way, no blame was to be apportioned to the surgeon or recourse to civil action by the deceased's family.

But what of Theotokis' charlatans and the other healers in town and countryside who shared their services with local wise men and women? The Paris-trained Zallony offers his readers a rare insight into the practices of empirics in Tinos, a small but populous island of some 24,000 persons:

Every morning [empirics] ride visiting a number of villages carrying their instruments and medications... For them the best cure for every disease is total diet, away from meat, wine, cold water and fruits. They ask that irrespective of the weather the patient should stay warm, with windows and doors shut in case the cold and wind should enter. The strict diet should last two to three weeks in which the patient should eat only boiled rice. For a drink, lukewarm barley drink [tisane]. Such comprehensive prejudice... when he comes to the patient, [the empiric] adopts a serious posture, asks the patient to show the tongue, searches the pulse, eyes to the ceiling, utters obscure words, pronounces his - almost always unpleasant - diagnosis... performs blood-letting right away rejects other doctors' remedies but suffers those given by the family... Arranges his medications on a table and with his scales and silver weights weighs all the doses... these empirics entirely ignore prophylactic medicine and the precepts of hygiene.³⁹³

Zallony believes all the doctors in Tinos are empirics for none among them appears to share his academic background. Similar to Theotokis' Corfiot charlatans, they are based in town but travel around the island on horseback in search of patients and dressed in distinctive hat and cape that differentiate them from the rest, traditionally attired, Greek community. (Illustration 20) Before they enter a village, they enquire about those ill and their history. Importantly, whilst not local, they are of the community and regardless of any misgivings, the countryside folk unable to recover from illness are prepared to

³⁹³ Zallony, *Voyage à Tine*, pp.109-111.

invite them into their homes. If Theotokis' and Zallony's critical views were shared by the countryside people of Corfu and Tinos, these healers would have become redundant relatively quickly. Instead, G. Pentogalos has identified non-academic healers who practiced medicine in Kefalonia, an island supplied with physicians of impressive academic credentials.³⁹⁴

In the absence of an apothecary or given an opportunity for greater profit, these empirics made their own drugs. In Zallony's list of empiric medications there are herbals and chemicals but no 'snake-oils'. They include many types of aromatic medicaments, the majority of which are pills, extracts, mercury, the emetic tartrate (potassium antimony tartrate) and cathartics based on the 'drastics' such as the juice of aloe and scammony, a purgative sent from the East to Marseilles and London.³⁹⁵ Often they left their preparations with instructions to those nursing the patient and made further visits. As in the case of the Maniot surgeon Papadakis, in many of these communities, cash was a rare commodity forcing people to adopt barter as a method of payment for goods or services. In some cases, If the doctor's fees were not repaid within two to three years, he had the right to force the sale of the debtor's property.³⁹⁶ By contemporary standards, empirics earned a very good living. Detorakis' research suggests that a hernia operation in Crete around 1700 CE was bought at great cost to a peasant family: the equivalent of twelve hundred (600 gr) loaves of 'good bread'.³⁹⁷ Perhaps it was the helplessness of country folk to afford such services that brought Theotokis' wrath upon these healers who 'influence the opinion of the people in the countryside and seek to enrich themselves at the cost of people's lives'.³⁹⁸

The title of the travelling *καλογιατρός* (good doctor) was not exclusive to those famed surgeons from the villages of Zagori or those visiting their immediate community on horseback. In his early days of captivity in the Morea, Pouqueville had the opportunity to witness another kind of

³⁹⁴ Pentogalos, *Γιατροί και Ιατρική Κεφαλονιάς* (Kefalonian Physicians and Medicine), pp. 158-159, 178-179, 206-207, 270-271.

³⁹⁵ Zallony, *Voyage à Tine*, p. 109; Hasselquist, *Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, p. 300.

³⁹⁶ Zallony, *Voyage à Tine*, p. 112.

³⁹⁷ Detorakis, 'Πρακτικοί γιατροί καί αγύρτες στήν Τουρκοκρατούμενη Κρήτη' (Empiric doctors and quacks in Crete under Ottoman rule), pp. 17-18.

³⁹⁸ E. Theotokis, *Détails sur Corfou*, p. 108.

καλογιατρός hawking his dubious wares and skills throughout the Greek peninsula, much different to the Zagori healers for whom he was full of praise:

A few acute and well-dressed Italians under the name of καλογιατρός travel through... in one place they make a widow in another an orphan... continue to destroy life and make money... the domestic who serves him profits from the practice... in the course of a few years to exercise for his own advantage the divine art of Hippocrates. Every person who wears a culpak (type of hat), or fur cap, similar to a muff, is a physician; the dress is everything and whether young or old, Turk, Greek, Jew or Armenian, is of no consequence; but the Italian is most prevalent... during my residence in the Morea, I had frequent opportunities of seeing one of these knights who skim over the surface of the earth to profit by the credulity of its inhabitants... declare that they bleed without the operation being felt, and draw teeth with the point of a stiletto.³⁹⁹

Pouqueville's charlatans are of different ethnic groups but with a prevalence of Italian. This is not surprising as Italy's association with learned medicine was especially strong and the Venetian Ionian islands provided a high number of academic physicians practicing in the Ottoman Empire. Many of those occupied high-status positions as local consuls representing European states. It was to the benefit of a charlatan to be associated with Italian medicine and in a number of cases unqualified practitioners of medicine claimed to have been apprenticed under academic physicians in Venetian territories.

For these widely traveled healers, ingenuity to stand out and gain attention and credibility in the midst of an unfamiliar crowd was essential. Amongst strangers they were the 'other' and naturally subject to mistrust. Similar to their counterparts in Italy, great attention was paid in their dress and method of communication.⁴⁰⁰ Their clothes were different and aimed at

³⁹⁹ Pouqueville, *Travels through the Morea*, pp. 83-84.

⁴⁰⁰ David Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy* (Oxford, Oxford UP, 2006), p.306

projecting an image of wealth and *gravitas*. In the land of the fez and turban, an expensive and rarely-seen culpak stood out, as did the long sober coat characteristic of the empiric doctor. Linguistic weaknesses were converted into strengths: Italian association was promoted as the esteemed membership of the 'learned' community of medical *dottori*. For those unable to speak the language, the costly servant became both interpreter and a symbol of success. In their adoption of the *καλογιατρός* (good doctor) name, they declared their calling and immediately became associated with the resident, and more trusted, healers. In the unlicensed marketplace of the peninsula, their medications ranged from 'remedies to amulets', a mark of their ability to connect with the psychology of the Greek community and its familiar pathways for cure: nature, religion and magic.⁴⁰¹ In this respect, many of the charlatans' remedies might not have seemed implausible to contemporary Greek eyes.

In addition to travelling empirics, many villages had their own resident healers. As we saw earlier, in his January 1779 encyclical to the local clerics of Corfu, the High Protopriest Aloysios Kapadokas asked that they give confidence to their flock to receive the God-given gift of inoculation for the smallpox. In order to dispel any doubts as to the expertise of the inoculators, the prelate wrote that the office of the Governor of Health had chosen 'excellent persons' to carry out the inoculation procedure:

...the proper concern of his Excellency the Governor of Health, made provision for excellent persons to proceed to all the villages of this island [Corfu] in order to carry out the act of engrafting (*ἐκεντρισιμός*) for the common good.⁴⁰²

It is unlikely that these specialist 'engrafters' were academically qualified physicians. University doctors enjoyed high status among the population and it would have strengthened Kapadokas' case if the inoculators were among their circle. Kapadokas' missive suggests that there were other, trusted, specialists familiar with medical procedures that involved skin

⁴⁰¹ Pouqueville, *Travels through the Morea*, p. 84.

⁴⁰² HAC, High Protopriests, MS 52, fols 847^r - 851^r

incisions and wound dressing. Most probably, they came from the ranks of local folk who engaged in community healing. Given the nature of the inoculation procedure, some of these 'engrafters' probably came from the ranks of blood-letters who were to be found regularly among traditional healers. In Paolo Mercati's report of 1811, there were seventy six blood letters in Zante of whom sixty two were resident in the countryside and presumably served the needs of the 19,229 persons living there, a ratio of 310:1.⁴⁰³ Blood letting had continued with disciples across town and country. Drawing blood by means of slitting a vein beneath a ligature had been the universal first line of attack against disease by regular and traditional medics. A reduction of venous blood was thought to alleviate symptoms such as pain or fever and evacuate some of the morbid humours.

In his commentary on travelling empirics, Professor E. Emmanouil's evaluation is comprehensively critical: 'unscrupulous, ignorant, furtive, pompous, avaricious... wildly exaggerating, extravagant of notions, liars, daring in their promise of therapy for every illness... at all events the final objective of these rogues was to make money'.⁴⁰⁴ In contrast, the empiric Papadakis and the others identified by contemporary travellers and modern historians enjoyed an image among their patients quite different to that suggested by Emmanouil. Even the learned Hennen was impressed by some of the work of empirics in Zante: 'a report which has since been confirmed to me by several practitioners worthy of credit who have adopted it. The disease to which I allude is rachitis'.⁴⁰⁵ Perhaps, modern historiographers were influenced by their ideological pursuit of modernisation or their personal experience of itinerant healers. Nevertheless, in their diagnostic habits, language, medications and acceptance by the wider public as *γιατροί* (doctors), some eighteenth-century Greek empirics belonged to a different category, products of their age and place: a period characterised by an unregulated and relatively isolated Greek medical landscape and, until the

⁴⁰³ Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Città ed Isola di Zante, (Zante, 1811)*, pp. 78-79.

⁴⁰⁴ Quoted in Protopapa – Bouboulidou, *Savogias Rousmelis*, pp. 19-20; Also critical, K. Sathas, "Ἡ ἰατρικὴ ἐν Ἑλλάδι" (Medicine in Greece), *Klio*, 4-16 June 1883, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁰⁵ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 329.

arrival of scientific medicine in the latter nineteenth century, comparative powerlessness in the face of disease.

Women and healthcare

With a high level of care for the sick centred in the household, mothers, wives and daughters played an essential role in the care of their relatives in times of illness. The knowledge of specific herbs and assumptions on their efficacy against specific ailments was transmitted within the family and community. When in season, herbs were gathered mainly by the women of the house and made ready for the time of need. The range of natural remedies employed in traditional medicine was extensive.

In his account of empiric materia medica in Corfu Theotokis gives to his readers 'a succinct idea of the kind of Corfiot natural medicine the frequent use of which I had the opportunity to observe'; his long list included:

- a fusion of absinth drunk by those with a sensitive stomach
- elder (lat. *Sambucus*) to soothe inflammations... and its flowers for dysuria and dysentery,
- according to the Gospel the balm (*beaume*) of the Samaritan (oil and wine in Luke 10. 33-34) to clean and mollify wounds...
- garlic and coral powder believed to be effective for worms...
- the use of chamomile well-known for colic... and excellent for its soothing (*nervin*) quality.
- Raw juice of wild chicory to impede bleeding...
- mallow poultice to draw boils.. radish to assist digestion.⁴⁰⁶

The extent to which these home medications were believed to be effective can only be judged in the context of the time and by those who applied and received them. Nature's remedies were part of the healing experience of every family and community in Greek society. In his voyage to the region in 1700, the French botanist Tournefort witnesses the 'gathering of

⁴⁰⁶ E. Theotokis, *Details sur Corfou*, p. 45. Theotokis' list is but a small sample of the significant corpus of 'natural' remedies utilised in early modern and nineteenth century Greece. Wide-ranging accounts of such *materia medica* can be sourced in the archives of the Folklore Research Centre of the Academy of Athens and the iatrosophic healing manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Karas, *Οί έπιστήμες στην Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule) iii, Life sciences.

Laudanum' a drug used by apothecaries and perfumers at the time.⁴⁰⁷ In the Cretan village of Melidoni the locals gathered the gum from the plant *Cistus Ladanifers*, a variety of rock rose, using a special whip-like instrument. (Illustration 21) As the leather straps brushed the plant, the gum adhered onto the surface and subsequently scraped into a 'cake' for home use or sale to Western Europe. Interestingly, Tournefort states that at the time of Dioscorides, in addition to the gathering instrument, the substance was gathered from the beard and coat of goats who fed on the plant.⁴⁰⁸ For generations Greek folk had trusted in the familiar herbs they gathered year after year; a practice originating in the healing customs and practices of their ancestors.

In some respects, belief in herbal efficacy mirrored the familiar blood-letting routine of male academic doctors and local empiric blood-letters. Regardless of the academic debates of earlier centuries in Western Europe, many university-trained physicians continued the practice until the later nineteenth century. Their patients underwent blood-letting and psychologically both doctors and patients felt better for it.⁴⁰⁹ As long as the practical and psychological environment of community healthcare continued unchanged, home remedies, self medication and long-established practices carried on along established patterns among the Greek community.

Importantly, Theotokis' list of natural remedies competed in the Corfiot marketplace with the approved list of Venetian materia medica distributed through regulated pharmacies. However, the popular use of natural remedies by Corfiot - and other Ionian island folk - suggests that pecuniary and healing efficacy considerations made traditional medicine the remedy of choice for many. People's significant use of natural remedies shows that, for commonplace ailments, the first options for ordinary people were the home or the local wise woman. This way of thinking was mirrored in the countryside of Morea and many Aegean islands which at that time were not subject to the pharmaceutical regulatory powers of Venice:

⁴⁰⁷ Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, i, pp. 77-82.

⁴⁰⁸ Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, i, p. 81.

⁴⁰⁹ Harold F. Cook, 'Physical Methods', in *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, ed. by W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter, 5th edn, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 2004), ii, pp. 939-960 (p. 950).

if one excludes some people from afar, who come here rarely and take justly or improperly the title of doctor, there are no doctors in the islands... For the usual illnesses and accidents people run to women who by tradition know some remedies which they apply without much discrimination, but which, despite all this, often bring about beneficial results.⁴¹⁰

Significantly, Pouqueville observed that women in the Morea 'inoculate children for the smallpox... But as to such diseases as epilepsy, vapours and lunacy they have recourse to exorcisms'.⁴¹¹ Pouqueville's observations were mirrored by the physician Zallony. In the island of Tinos the treatment for smallpox was exclusively in the hands of mothers who inoculated their own children whereas for the treatment of remittent fevers, epilepsy, erysipelas and other diseases the locals used remedies of magical incantations and amulets.⁴¹² The physicians' comments are especially revealing in terms of the role and *mentalité* of Greek women healers: they provide further evidence of their essential therapeutic role and status among the community and show the suffusion of practical with magico-religious elements in their therapeutic deliberations.

At the time of Pouqueville's first residence in the Morea (ca 1799 - 1801), vaccination with cowpox was not known in the province. Jenner's vaccination experiments were first published in 'The Inquiry' paper in 1798 and it can be assumed that the French physician referred to the local practice of 'inoculation' using the human smallpox virus. A version of the traditional method of inoculation against the smallpox is given in the iatrosophic manuscript of the Monastery of the Transfiguration in the Aegean island of Skopelos. It was written in the early nineteenth century:

When the *εὐλογιές* ['blessings' – smallpox spots] are at their best, swollen the size of chickpeas with white pus, take to engraft the upper arm of the child. Cut it a little

⁴¹⁰ Sonnini in *Ἡ Χίος παρά τοῖς γεογράφοις καί περιηγηταῖς* (Chios according to geographers and travellers), iii, p. 1708.

⁴¹¹ Pouqueville, *Travels through the Morea*, p. 84.

⁴¹² Zallony, *Voyage à Tine*, p. 97.

and when the blood passes and [the wound] opens
 brake one or two 'blessing' spots; take the pus and place
 on the [wound] opening. You then cover it either with cotton
 or a piece of cloth and tie it; leave like this for the 'blessing'
 to 'hold'. When it [smallpox] comes up [the child] needs
 protection, great care and far from the cold.⁴¹³

In the island of Tinos, the mothers who inoculated their children took care to use material from the pustules of the milder kind (*variola minor*). However, the conditions of the disease were such that, frequently, between the ninth and eleventh day the child succumbed.⁴¹⁴ With a death rate of 30% to 50% for *variola major*, it seems that some Greek mothers, in the Morea or the island of Tinos at least, were prepared to risk the lives of their children. For the women who practiced it on their - and the neighbours' - children, it shows a level of technical skill and deep trust in their judgement and post-inoculation care. Moreover, it demonstrates the authority of women healers and their prestigious place in the social life of the Greek family and community. In the context of their healing role, women's authority was exercised both in the public arena and in the intimate setting of the home thereby questioning the stereotypical view of Greek culture which tended to emphasising male authority.⁴¹⁵ Furthermore, female power, as it existed outside aristocratic circles, was enhanced by the role of the midwife.

Midwifery

Until the establishment of the medical college (*Collegio Medico*) in Corfu in 1802 and arrival of male obstetricians, assistance with childbirth fell within the remit of female midwives. Importantly, among ordinary Greek folk, contemporary cultural attitudes were heavily predisposed against the use of male obstetricians.⁴¹⁶ Hence, given the physiological process of childbirth, midwifery was firmly placed in the female domain. Women guided those in a

⁴¹³ MTS, MS 8, fols 202 - 203.

⁴¹⁴ Zallony, *Voyage à Tine*, p. 97.

⁴¹⁵ Michael Herzfeld, 'Within and Without: The Category of "Female" in the Ethnography of Modern Greece', pp. 217-222.

⁴¹⁶ Sonnini in *Ἡ Χίος παρὰ τοῖς γεογράφοις καί περιηγηταῖς* (Chios according to geographers and travellers), iii, p. 1676.

period of pregnancy, assisted in labour and provided post-natal care. In a social context, midwives shared certain common characteristics: many were married with personal experience of carrying and raising children, and from ordinary households. As opportunities for a wealthy clientele and a large practice were limited, their social rewards of community service, sense of self-worth and prestige were probably more significant than their earnings which were but a supplement to the family's main income.

Greek midwives acquired their skills from personal experience and the knowledge of generations passed on by older members of their community. Around 1780 and uniquely for its time and place, the French philosopher, naturalist and traveller Sonnini de Manoncourt had the opportunity to witness personally a Greek birth in one of the Aegean islands. Appendix 2 presents an extract of his extensive description of that event. In Sonnini's account of the childbirth the midwife brought the traditional three-legged birth stool to be used at the appropriate time by the expectant mother taking the 'seating' birth position. (Illustration 22) This birth method is similar to the method adopted in parts of Italy but unlike the practice followed in contemporary England, France and Germany, where the woman giving birth stayed in her bed.⁴¹⁷ Importantly, the method reflects its regional character and continuity over centuries: Illustration 23 shows an almost identical birth-giving method as practised in Byzantium. It is taken from a twelfth-century biblical iconographic depiction of the sterility and subsequent birth of twins by Rebecca (Genesis 25. 20-24) in the Octateuch of the Seraglio in Constantinople.⁴¹⁸ In both illustrations the midwife is seated in a low stool assisting the woman in labour. Interestingly neither version of the Greek seating apparatus has a strong back or allows for child delivery 'through a hole' as described by the Italian J. Panzani in the eighteenth-century *Giornale di Medicina*.⁴¹⁹

Besides its practical aspects, childbirth in Greek society was an event conducted according to long established folk and magico-religious rituals. The knowledge of such rituals was an essential element in the midwife's range of

⁴¹⁷ Nadia Maria Filippini, 'The Church, the State and childbirth: the midwife in Italy during the eighteenth century' in *The Art of Midwifery – Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, ed. by Hilary Marland (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 152-175 (pp. 155-156).

⁴¹⁸ Warburg Library Photographic Archive, 51, Sr f.95v

⁴¹⁹ Filippini, 'The Church, the State and childbirth: the midwife in Italy during the eighteenth century', p. 172.

skills. Her leading role in managing the diverse technical and supernatural challenges associated with childbirth invested the midwife with special prestige within her community. Sonnini related how, prior to the birth, the family of the pregnant woman 'praised the knowledge and experience' of the midwife both in the matter of the birth itself and the associated rituals.⁴²⁰

Immediately upon the arrival of the midwife and her assistant into the room of the woman in labour, a series of rituals were enacted. Clearly the community believed that labour took place in the presence of supernatural forces capable of influencing the outcome of the childbirth. Moreover, it also believed that during the birth process the forces competed with the human wish for the child to exit the mother's womb or harm the mother in her hour of weakness. Accordingly, it could be countered only by sympathetic rituals such as the opening of all closed objects, the husband's intervention ritual, maximising the 'exit' force by not leaving the room prior to the arrival of the newborn or preventing exposure of the mother to the stars. In addition, besides ritual actions, there was clear belief in the efficacy of words; be they those of the husband or the cleric. A successful labour validated the efficacy of the whole process in its technical aspects, the midwife's gift to perform para-liturgical rituals in order to counter malign forces and the official 'cleansing' services of the Church. Significantly, in their impact upon the physical world, such ritual practices - actions and words - had a wider cultural impact in Greek society beyond the act in which they were initially deployed. As Stuart Clark has shown, belief in the material benefits attributed to such rituals engenders their wider cultural diffusion.⁴²¹

The midwife's duties extended beyond assisting in childbirth. Her experience with certain aspects of human physiology brought about greater knowledge and involvement within the community both in the official arena and the private domain. In July 1738, Stamatela Sarakinou petitioned the ecclesiastical court of Corfu for the annulment of her four-year marriage to Thodoris Ginargyros. The grounds for the petition rested with her husband's persisting inability to consummate their marriage through chronic illness. As a

⁴²⁰ Sonnini in *Ἡ Χίος παρά τοῖς γεογράφοις καί περιηγηταῖς* (Chios according to geographers and travellers), iii, p. 1669.

⁴²¹ Clark, *Thinking with Demons, The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, p. 282.

proof of her situation she invited the court to confirm her virgin status by a court-approved midwife. The court officials agreed and arranged for the midwife Anastasoula Pekatorou to carry out the examination 'with due diligence'. The midwife was able to confirm 'upon oath, fear of God and her soul' Stamatella's virgin status and the court granted the petitioner's wish.⁴²² Thus far, Anastasoula Pekatorou appears to be the first named woman in early modern Greece officially engaged in a branch of medicine. Her position as an expert witness is somewhat different to the image of Sonnini's unnamed midwife. However, they are both representative of a long list of unrecorded women who helped bring generations of Greeks into the world.

In G. Pentogalos' comprehensive account of one hundred and ninety empiric and academic Kefalonian doctors for the period 1500 to 1815, the only female is Nikoleta Frangia from the village of Omala.⁴²³ Her occupation 'γιάτρισσα' (doctor) appears in her death certificate; a simple acknowledgement of her exceptional contribution to the community.

The change of regime and arrival of the French early in the nineteenth century signalled important changes in the midwife's diverse practices in the Ionian Islands. In the relatively short period of French rule, new regulations strengthened the earlier initiatives of the medical college (*Collegio Medico*) in Corfu which was established in 1802. The 'Summary Decree of the Imperial Trusteeship' of 22nd June 1810 enacted the French administration's guiding principles that 'prudent policy and common morals demand the implementation of a suitable therapy of the ills that are caused by neglect and ignorance and result in the suffering of humanity'.⁴²⁴ Bearing on the role of a midwife the articles required that:

- a. in future, midwives will be required to attend training
by the newly appointed Professor of midwifery
- b. midwives who wished to practice in future were
required to submit a 'proof of good morals'

⁴²² Kapadochos, 'Η απονομή της δικαιοσύνης στην Κέρκυρα απο τους μεγάλους πρωτοπαπάδες την ενετική περίοδο (1604-1797)' (The dispensation of justice in Kerkyra by the High Protopriests during the period of Venetian rule (1604-1797), p. 413.

⁴²³ Pentogalos, *Γιατροί και Ιατρική Κεφαλονιάς* (Kefalonian Physicians and Medicine), p. 285.

⁴²⁴ Kefallonitis, *Ιστορία του Αστικού Νοσοκομείου Κερκύρας* (History of the civic hospital of Corfu), (p. 54.

- c. midwives who were not registered with the social health committee were not allowed to practice forthwith.
- d. midwives were not allowed to arrange for blood letting or offer medications during pregnancy without prior advice from a doctor
- e. midwives were 'excluded severely from practicing the medical arts' when called to visit sick women or children or propose a remedy without prior advice from a doctor
- f. midwives were to be judged as criminals when carrying out an abortion and pursued by the courts if found to deceive women by offering them harmful remedies to aid conception.⁴²⁵

The regulations point to some practices of midwives which now fell either exclusively in the remit of an authorised physician or outside accepted moral or legal boundaries. The extent to which these new regulations were implemented is difficult to gauge. In the challenging socio-economic conditions of the region, details surrounding the provision of medical services were difficult to obtain and secret abortions were not unknown in the East.⁴²⁶

Certificates of good morals issued to women willing to continue as midwives in Corfu could be provided by their local cleric and rescinded if a midwife acted outside her authorised function. Throughout the Greek world, clerics were always in a position of influence over local affairs. However, if the new regulation was implemented in the Ionian island territories, for the first time the choice of a new midwife would fall within the remit of the local cleric and central medical authority, one initial step towards the institutionalisation of Greek medical services. Moreover, this was a further reinforcement of the secular authority of the Church in the affairs of the Greek community.

But these were extraordinarily turbulent times for the islands with frequent changes in administration and with the island of Corfu subjected to a blockade by the British. In May 1814 the French Imperial Commissioner wrote: 'we are reduced to our own resources and these... will soon be entirely

⁴²⁵ Kefallonitis, *Ιστορία του Αστικού Νοσοκομείου Κερκύρας* (History of the civic hospital of Corfu), (pp. 55- 58).

⁴²⁶ Sieber, *Travels in the Island of Crete in the year 1817*, p. 66.

exhausted; all services, despite our efforts, totally paralysed'.⁴²⁷ With weightier matters at hand, this was an unfortunate time for an aspirational public health policy along the French model or for the opportunity for the new measures to take root.

On 5th November at the Treaty of Paris, the Ionian Islands came under the control of Britain signalling a different future for the region. Meanwhile, the midwives and other female healers in the mainland continued to occupy centre stage in the healthcare of the community and to practice their diverse skills as they had done for centuries. For them change would come after the revolution and establishment of the Greek state.

4. 5 Conclusions

It is a feature of many systems of thought, Keith Thomas observed, that they possess a self-confirming character.⁴²⁸ As applied to traditional medicine, the highly spiritualized Greek community reflected its perception of the cosmos in the diverse forces it believed caused or alleviated disease. Hence, understanding and dealing with disease encompassed, without demarcation, the secular and the spiritual, the lay and the professional.

In relatively harsh conditions of existence, self-medication was the first port of call. It was the patient and immediate family that had the authority to decide the causes of a disease and the appropriate paths for its cure. However, the low level of physician engagement with the community was not purely a matter of money or elite patronage defining the rules of engagement with healing providers. Greek society was imbued with a deep spirituality and, influenced by Orthodox Church doctrine and practice, considered disease not entirely a matter of natural causes. If some sickness was thought as the work of a malign force, it fell naturally outside the competence of the physician and squarely within the familiar church and magico-religious healing rituals.

Despite Landos' *Γεωπονικόν* and other iatrosophic texts, written medical knowledge was in short supply until the dawn of the nineteenth century. However, the highly oral culture gave its own expression and meanings to sickness and in that sense disease was often socially

⁴²⁷ Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, p. 98.

⁴²⁸ Thomas, *Religion and the decline of Magic*, p. 767.

constructed. Aspects of humoral medicine such as cathartics, emetics and blood-letting retained their place, imitating academic medicine itself. However, these practices were undertaken in an environment of comparative lack of knowledge and a disordered set of medical practices applied according to the local situation.

The lack of regulatory state machinery and low level of available academic physicians offered favourable conditions for abundant irregular healers. Relatively unencumbered by state interference, Greek traditional medicine thrived. For many of its practitioners, community prestige rather than money per se were the rewards of service. Central to the health affairs of Greek society, was the role of women both within the household and the wider community. Although some local and widely traveling healers were male, many healers were women in the role of community carer, nurse and midwife.

In the context of medical practices, Greek society was characterized by its strong spiritual beliefs. People's search for cure was grounded in an ideology strong in faith, family and community and influenced by their own notions of what is rational, expedient and preferable. In traditional medicine the Greek community had a large number of choices: in-house or external, the local lay healer or cleric, blood-letter or irregular doctor, expensive or gratis; complex, dynamic, and in pursuit of one's self-interest. European travellers and physicians occasionally stereotyped Greek society, deriding its pluralistic therapeutic beliefs and practices. Yet, the majority of the Greek population were subject to a different cultural experience, generally bereft of resources, and with traditional remedies, frequently magico-religious, as the only option for comfort and relief from affliction. Theotokis' description of Corfu's folk *mentalité* regarding such popular healing possibilities provides a most extraordinary and revealing insight:

We make charms with incantations... a supernatural creation, [*un mélange de Théurgie*]... we break spells with words to which we attribute the power to cause extraordinary effects... we are persuaded that with certain formulae retained through apocryphal tradition we can get in touch with angels and, with their help,

to know and perform acts superior to those of human science. With such beliefs we do not feel we go against God's Will which the beings we invoked obey.

The results of these practices in matters regarding therapy from illness are often prodigious.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁹ E. Theotokis, *Détails sur Corfou*, p.119.

5. The Noblest Art

In a number of villages there should be a good doctor
and a pharmacy or at least there should not be any of
those who are not doctors nor barbers yet dare practice
the noblest [healing] art.

S. Vlassopoulos⁴³⁰

Dr G. Sakellários, of Kozani... was obliged by Alý [Pasha]
to change his situation from a place which enjoys the
comforts of civilized Europe...he is well acquainted with
German, Italian, French, Latin and ancient Greek...[and]
anxious to benefit his countrymen... now engaged in
translating into his native language the general history
of Greece by Cousin Despréaux...

W. M. Leake⁴³¹

Vlassopoulos deplored the poor state of medical care in the countryside and praised the French Imperial Delegate for taking remedial action. The regulation of June 1810 arranged for three academically qualified country doctors, equipped with the necessary medicines for the poor and paid from the public purse. They were to be appointed 'in order that these unfortunates without the means to undergo treatment obtain great relief and contentment'.⁴³² Clearly better times were on the way for the countryside poor now that the 'noblest art' exercised by civilised and enlightened men would extend its benevolent hand to improve their prospects for longevity and quality of life.

Around the same time from the Ottoman-ruled mainland, Colonel W.M. Leake recalls his contact with a highly educated Greek physician at the court of the potentate Ali Pasha. Influenced by his European scholarly exposure and appreciation of Hellenic culture, the erudite doctor set out to educate and enlighten his compatriots on their Greek heritage.

From their different geographical and intellectual perspectives,

⁴³⁰ Vlassopoulos, Στατιστικά Ίστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), p. 37.

⁴³¹ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, i, pp.354-355.

⁴³² Vlassopoulos, Στατιστικά Ίστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), p. 37.

S. Vlassopoulos and W. M. Leake help to underline the diverse social, political, cultural, long-established yet increasingly changing setting in which local physicians practiced their art. Greek academic medicine in the eighteenth century becomes especially multifaceted and, as a result, the historical source material turns out to be quite intricate. The Greek medical world is

- a) Subject to the disparate cultural influences of Venetian and Ottoman modes of thought; one European, Christian, and steeped in a Western medical tradition, the other Eastern, Islamic, embracing both Western and 'Arab- Islamic' medical conventions.
- b) Shaped by diverse political and economic ideologies in which to practice medicine; on the one hand the long rule of the Venetian Senate with its unique impact on the socio-political structure and public finance model for its dominions, and on the other, the long reign of the Sultanate with its own socio-political and fiscal model for ruling the different religious-ethnic groups of the Ottoman Empire.
- c) Inspired by important changes in the political and intellectual climate; for the medical community of the Ionian islands, proximity and real access to political power follows the departure of Venice in 1797 and allows them to influence private and public medical practice. In parallel, a new wave of Greek physicians with strong ties in the Ottoman region became increasingly exposed to European academic learning and the debates of European Enlightenment. Like Dr G. Sakellários, many sought to influence not only the physical but in addition the cultural lives of their fellow citizens.

Thus, integral to our examination of Greek medicine of the time is the appreciation that we are dealing with a culture which towards the end of the *long durée* of Venetian and Ottoman rule is exposed to forces that encourage change. These complex features make our inquiry demanding and raise issues of methodology. In the matter concerning the challenging nature of the task, the answer can be firstly, to contain one's ambition. Secondly, it is to point to the significance of the results that a critical analysis of the material will allow us to propose. Our investigation will:

- i) Examine the diverse impact of 'empire' on the practice and evolution of academic medicine on a part of Europe with unique ties to Western medical tradition;
- ii) Explore the role and contribution of the medical profession in the cultural and political re-awakening of Greek society in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, activities not normally associated with academic physicians in a Western European setting;
- iii) Consider aspects of the impact of the European Enlightenment on that part of the region in the context of the modes of transmission of medical knowledge;
- iv) Study the interplay of Western academic medicine and science with religious and popular medicine in a South-Eastern European setting characterised by a strong Christian tradition but relatively untouched by European religious conflicts and the impact of the Protestant Reformation, a matter of continuing relevance in the Balkan region.

In the matter of methodology, as the Greek community lived under the separate Venetian and Ottoman political systems, it will be necessary to relate the different topics investigated in this chapter to these two distinctive divisions. For clarity, discussions which involve one or another separate political situation will be flagged accordingly. Secondly, qualitative analysis lies at the core of the study. The sources are extensive, encompassing travellers' accounts, government and Church documents, professional correspondence, memoirs, and contemporary publications, all helping to explore diverse aspects of Greek community life. It is therefore proposed to limit our investigation to the following topics:

The first part – A strong medical tradition – will be concerned with the forces that determined the character and mindset of Greek physicians practicing in the region. For this it will be necessary to look at source material spanning the Venetian and Ottoman worlds and focus on the following aspects: (a) what were the foundations and the forces that determined the evolution of Greek academic medicine in the region? (b) what were the distinguishing ways of thinking and motivations of physicians - individually and as a group - with origins in the Venetian territories compared with those connected with the

communities under Ottoman rule? (c) what were the major intellectual influences that shaped the character and evolution of academic medicine in Greek society in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century?

In the second part – Medical Theory and Practice – the study will investigate the prevailing medical philosophies, the influence of new European medical discoveries on Greek medical practitioners and their capacity to apply them to the local situation. Here, there are three questions to pursue: (a) what were the medical theories and changes that determined local therapeutic practice? (b) what were the responses of the patients to the prevailing therapeutic methods? (c) what was the response of civic authorities in facilitating medical innovation?

The chief interest of the third section – A good doctor and a pharmacy – concerns the capacity of the medical professions, doctors and apothecaries, to deliver medical care where it mattered, that is to the Greek community at large. The diverse social conditions of Greek society – Venetian or Ottoman, town or country, rich or poor – shaped the relationship between healers and their patients. The topics to tackle here are (a) the degree of patient access to a physician or apothecary, (b) the place of the physician and pharmacist in Greek society, and (c) The consequences of these relationships to therapeutic practice in the community.

The fourth part of the chapter – The Supreme Law of Community Health – will discuss the interaction of state health with the community. A primary topic of investigation here concerns state strategies in matters of public health and differences between the Venetian Senate and Sublime Porte. In particular, aspects of the defence of the community against the outbreaks of contagion and the policies for the provision of hospital care to the Greek community.

5.1 A strong medical tradition

The seventeenth and eighteenth century was a period of particular growth in the links between the Greek world and Western academic medicine. The long Venetian rule had brought material changes for some among the Greek community. Whilst the Serenissima was reluctant to improve local academic standards in the Ionian islands, many amongst the privileged

Orthodox or Catholic Greeks enjoyed the freedom to pursue studies in Italian and, later on, other European universities. Similarly, on the Aegean side of the peninsula, the island of Chios, for a long time subject to a form of Genoese rule, had developed strong cultural associations with Italy and academic connections in Rome, Ferrara and Padua. In 1566 Chios fell to the Sultan and because of its lucrative trade in the aromatic mastic gum grown extensively in the island, it became a private appanage to the Sultan's family. Under their special protection, it was allowed to prosper and to continue to promote its intellectual links with the West.

More generally, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, improved conditions for Greek merchants and shipping throughout the region opened new trading and academic routes for those with the financial and political skills to make the most of the opportunities. Gradually, young aristocrats and promising scholars from the islands and mainland came to realise that a university career offered a way out of their intellectually restrictive surroundings and towards a promising career in the Venetian territories, the Ottoman Empire, and beyond.

Early on, Greek scholars were assisted in their studies by endowments and places in Italian academic foundations with special connections to Greek society. The St Athanasius Greek College of Rome (*Collegio Greco*) had been set up by Pope Gregory XIII in 1576 to promote links with the Orthodox Church. In 1626, the Corfiot Thomas Flanginis (1578-1648) founded the school bearing his name and whose graduates were allowed to register at the University of Padua. In 1653, the eminent scholar Ioannis Kottounios (1572-1657), student of Cremonini and his successor to the chair of philosophy at Padua, established the Hellinomuseum, a boarding school for Greek scholars. Later, joined by scholars from Kydonies, Smyrna, Melies and other 'higher schools' within the Ottoman-ruled territory, they were part of an educational movement unseen since the fall of the Eastern Empire. There were relatively few restrictions for Greeks from either region – Ottoman or Venetian – to study abroad and the scholarly instruction received in Greek or Italian 'higher schools' provided them with sound foundations for University education. A number of those studying medicine also studied philosophy and law and it was

said of such *ιατροφιλόσοφοι* (doctor-philosophers) 'if they failed to cure their patients' bodies they could at least provide their souls with the consolations of philosophy'.⁴³³ For many young Greeks, Padua, Halle, Vienna, Leipzig, Paris and other universities on the Continent became precious pathways to the professions and the wider European scientific debates. Significantly for the advancement of Greek society, they also provided an invaluable intellectual resource that was to prove crucial to Greek intellectual and political revival and the subsequent establishment of the Greek state.

Increasingly from the seventeenth century, a significant number of Greek scholars chose medicine as a career. Academic medicine held special attractions for the Greek community. In an environment of restricted freedoms and opportunities for material improvement, graduates came to appreciate the status, authority, influence and the especially attractive monetary rewards medicine could bring to its practitioners. The appeal of the profession to the community of the island in Kefalonia was extraordinary. For the period 1700-1814, G. Pentogalos' seminal study of Kefalonian physicians shows one hundred and eleven medical practitioners originated in the island, with 70% attending lectures in Padua.⁴³⁴ This compares with only sixty for the whole of the seventeenth century and fourteen for the sixteenth. Despite its small population of around 70,000 inhabitants, the island's singular connection with medicine became renowned throughout the Ottoman Empire:

There is scarcely a large town in European Turkey where one or more Kefaloniotēs may not be found engaged in medical practice, and pursuing their fortunes with an assiduity which is generally successful in as far as circumstances render it possible.⁴³⁵

⁴³³ Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity, A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1968), p. 213.

⁴³⁴ Pentogalos, *Γιατροί και Ιατρική Κεφαλονιάς* (Kefalonian Physicians and Medicine), pp. 139-300 and 513-517. Also, for a more detailed account on some of the more distinguished of these personalities see S. Marketos and J. Laskaratos, 'The Links between the Medical School of Bologna and the Hellenic Medical World', pp. 113-125; S. Marketos, J. Laskaratos and A. Diamandopoulos, 'The Links between the Medical School of Padua and the Hellenic Medical World', pp. 45-58.

⁴³⁵ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, pp. 39-40.

Some Greek physicians, attracted by the intellectual environment of a University, an institution not available in the home region, pursued academic careers and held senior posts in European Universities. Others practiced medicine in the Ottoman Empire, Europe and Russia, frequently in the service of great potentates. Significantly, a good number combined medical practice with an active academic, social or political engagement in the affairs of the Greek community under Venetian or Ottoman rule.

Ioannis Charbouris, Padua scholar under Morgagni and closely connected with David Hume (1711-1776) and Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), practiced medicine at the court of Louis XVI and taught medicine at the Universities of Turin and Padua. Petros Vondiolis, collaborator of Alessandro Volta (1745-1827) taught in Bologna and Padua, whilst Angelo Dalla Decima (1752-1825) served as rector and professor of Pathology in Padua and elected member of the Academies of Padua, Naples, Mantua, Florence and Split. Exceptional among those practicing medicine were the Chiot Emmanouil Timonis (1669-1720?) and the Kefalonian Iakovos Pylarinos (1659-1718). Both physicians were related to families with medical connections and credited with being the first to bring to the attention of Western academic circles the method of smallpox inoculation (by the engrafting method) practised by empirics in the Greek peninsula (Thessaly) and Constantinople.⁴³⁶

A student of law and medicine in Padua, Pylarinos became Venetian consul in Smyrna, physician to Ismail Pasha of Crete, then to Prince Cantacuzene in Wallachia and later at the court of Peter the Great. In the matter of smallpox he felt sufficiently confident to start experimenting from 1701 and to publish in Venice in 1715 his 'new and safe method by which the

⁴³⁶ For a more detailed account on Pylarinos and Timonis see 'An account, or History, of the Procuring the Small Pox by Incision, or Inoculation; As It Has for Some Time Been Practised at Constantinople. Being the Extract of a Letter from Emanuel Timonius, Oxon. & Patav. M.D. F.R.S. Dated at Constantinople, December, 1713. Communicated to the Royal Society by John Woodward, M.D. Profes. Med. Gresh. and F.R.S.', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, XXIX, No 339 (April-May-June, 1714), pp. 72-82; J. Pylarini, *Nova et tuta variolas excitandi per transplantationem methodus; nuper inventa et in usum tracta: qua rite peracta immunia in posterum praeservantur ab hujusmodi contagio corpora* (Venetiis: Hertz, MDCCXV) and reprinted in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, XXIX, No 347 (Jan.-Feb.-March, 1716), pp. 393-399; Stephanos Geroulanos, 'Iakovos Pylarinos (1659-1718) und sein Beitrag zur Variolation' *Gesnerus*, 35 (1978), 264-275; Philippos P. Argentiis 'Emmanouil Timonis', *Journal of the Argenti society of Chios*, 2 (1939), 140-170.

human body is protected from the contagious variola (smallpox). (Illustration 24) The procedure involved the introduction (*insertio*) of serum (*fermenti mordificis*) taken from a variolous pustule into the skin by small scratches. Empiric inoculation from smallpox had also attracted the attention of Emmanouil Timonis, *pro rector* at Padua, recipient of a medical degree from Oxford University and physician at the court of the Sultan, who submitted a paper to the Royal Society in 1713 (printed in 1714). The value of their work was not accorded its due importance until Lady Mary Wortley Montagu promoted the method later on, following her own experiences in Turkey as the wife of the British Ambassador.⁴³⁷

Among Greek academic physicians, the contribution of Count Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776-1831) and Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) were extraordinary. They represent the outward reach of Greek medical talent into the arena of politics and the revival of Greek learning respectively. Kapodistrias studied medicine, philosophy and law in Padua. At an early age, he became involved in politics appointed as Chief Minister in the short-lived Septinsular Republic (Ionian Islands 1800-1807) and was instrumental in the establishment of the Medical College of Corfu in 1802. In 1809 he entered the service of Tsar Alexander I, played an active role as one of his plenipotentiaries in the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) and was subsequently appointed joint foreign minister with Count Nesselrode (1780-1862). An astute politician, in 1827 he was invited by the National Assembly to become President of Greece, the first to occupy the highest office of the newly established Greek State. In the highly turbulent environment of the time his policies came into conflict with Greek elites anxious to regain their pre-independence prerogatives. He was assassinated on the way to Church on 9th October 1831.

Adamantios Korais stands 'supreme among the learned Greeks'.⁴³⁸

A son of Chiot merchants, he studied medicine at Montpellier and from 1788 until his death in 1833, lived in Paris experiencing at first hand the intellectual

⁴³⁷ For further details on the contribution of Mary Wortley Montagu see Genevieve Miller, *The Adoption of Inoculation for Smallpox in England and France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957); Peter Razzell, *The Conquest of Smallpox*, 2nd edn (Firle: Caliban, 2003).

⁴³⁸ Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία του Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, Τουρκοκρατία 1669-1812* (*History of Neo-Hellenism, Ottoman rule 1669-1812*), p. 649.

and socio-political tides of the time. An admirer of Condorcet and his *Idéologue* successors, he pursued the twin objectives of political change for Greek subjects and a firm belief in Greek 'society's moral rebirth through systematic education'.⁴³⁹ His medical studies at Montpellier had equipped him with a deep appreciation of the classics and science. His monumental output encompassed medicine, theology, philology and history, including treatises on Hippocrates and Galen, translations of European medical works, a multi-tome Greek Library, the exchange of political ideas with Thomas Jefferson and exhortatory letters to the Greeks of the diaspora and under Ottoman rule; truly a 'doyen of the Greek Enlightenment'.⁴⁴⁰

For Greek medical scholars, greater appreciation of the importance of classical authors to Western civilisation and the central place of Hippocratic and Galenic teaching in the evolution and practice of medicine resulted in a unique relationship with aspects of Greek culture. 'Think from whom you are descended!' asked the young philosopher Athanasios Psalidas (1767-1829) of his fellow Greeks.⁴⁴¹ For many physicians, the special affinity with Western medical tradition, sense of personal connection with the Hellenic cultural heritage, inferior status as citizens of the Ottoman state, and lack of university facilities at their place of origin engendered an intellectual orientation towards the West and an aversion for Islamic academic institutions and therapeutics. Moreover, personal experience of life in the West, the debates of the European Enlightenment, and seismic political pressures following the French Revolution impelled a number to take a more active part in politics and the intellectual and physical improvement of the Greek community. For Ioannis Tsoulatis (1762-1805), graduate of Padua and associate of the renowned Swiss physician S.A. Tissot (1728-1797), it led to his return to the Ionian islands, active medical practice, personal efforts to develop public health and, following the departure of Venice, involvement in the political affairs of the Septinsular Republic. For A. Korais, the prospect of influencing the condition

⁴³⁹ Kitromilidis, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* (Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment), p. 386.

⁴⁴⁰ Kitromilidis, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* (Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment), p. 422 and extensively within the text; in relation to Korais' works p. 582; Further reading Demaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* (*Neohellenic Enlightenment*), and Therianos, *Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραΐς* (Adamantios Korais).

⁴⁴¹ Vakalopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, Τουρκοκρατία 1669-1812* (*History of Neo-Hellenism, Ottoman rule 1669-1812*), p. ζ'.

of the Orthodox community became a primary life objective and only possible outside Ottoman territory. Many other academic physicians sought to extend their role beyond the customary response to their patients' needs to that of expanding medical knowledge throughout the Greek world and forming part of the vanguard for the wider cultural development of modern Hellenism.

Up to the early eighteenth century, in the course of their studies, Greek medical students had no access to printed books on modern medical theory and practice available in the Greek language.⁴⁴² Greek hand-written translations were relatively rare and very much valued by the medical community. One such example is Alexandros Giakouleus' translation of John Allen's (1660?-1727?) *Synopsis universae medicinae practicae, sive doctissimorum virorum de morbis eorumque causis ac remediis judicia* (*Synopsis medicinae: or a summary view of the whole practice of Physick. Being the sentiments of the most celebrated authors in all ages, relating to diseases, their causes and cures*) originally published in London in 1719. Hand-written copies of Allen's work have been located in Greek libraries, some showing copy dates of 1732, 1747, 1760 and 1770.⁴⁴³

The first exclusively medical printed work was published in 1724, and was followed by a further five in the fifty four years between 1725 and 1779. It is in the period after 1779 that printed medical books in the Greek language increase in volume (see table 6 below). The low number of books for the period to 1779 is somewhat unexpected given the large number of Greek physicians in the preceding one hundred and fifty years. What were the reasons for the apparent disinterest of Ionian Island doctors to produce medical works in the Greek language? Firstly, in the cultural milieu of the islands, most of the physicians with local origins were thoroughly conversant with the Italian tongue, had studied in Italian institutions and felt comfortable with the prevailing arrangements of Italian as the preferred language of academic, state and social discourse. It is worth noting that the highly respected Corfiot physician and philosopher Lazzaro de Mordo (Eleazar Mordoch) (1744-1823) wrote his *Advice to countryside inhabitants...*

⁴⁴² Here, I have excluded *Geoponikon*, written by the self-confessedly non-expert in medical matters monk Agapios Landos, I place his text in the 'traditional' healing school.

⁴⁴³ Karas, *Οί έπιστήμες στην Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), iii, pp. 43-44.

(*Avvertimenti alla gente di campagna...*) in Italian. In his prologue to the Italian edition de Mordo observes that his work should be translated in the simple Greek dialect 'in order to be more useful but such an undertaking would have taken time' and for that reason the Italian edition appeared in 1805.⁴⁴⁴ Corfiot countryside folk received his advice in the Greek edition of 1818. This leads us to the second point which is that de Mordo's comments are signs of the degree of acculturation to the dominant - Venetian - culture by the islands' aristocratic, learned and medical elite. A good number of the aristocracy of the islands, embodying most of those with noble birth, high education and wealth, descended from communities outside the Greek world. These included Dalmatia, the Veneto, Napoli, Rome, Tuscany, Normandy, and France.⁴⁴⁵ Changes in elite mind set and an unambiguous orientation towards the Greek culture was a gradual process stimulated by the decline and disengagement of the Venetian administration, the revival of Hellenism, and a surge in the movement for the liberation of Greek society.

As far as Greek society outside the Ionian islands was concerned, with more scholars venturing into European medical education later in the century and the socio-political aspirations of the Greek community gathering momentum, the interest in medical works in the Greek language became more relevant and pressing. Analysis of printed books concerned with medical subjects and written in the Greek language shows the following:

Table 6. Medical books by content and time period⁴⁴⁶

<u>Book content</u>	<u>1700-1779</u>	<u>1780-1821</u>	<u>Total</u>
- Exclusively medical works	6	23	29
- With some medical content	5	37	42

The increase in output after 1779 is clear and all the more significant considering that the substantial majority (twenty five) of the twenty-nine

⁴⁴⁴ Quoted in Philippos Iliou, *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία τοῦ 19^{ου} αἰῶνα 1801-1818* (Greek Bibliography of the 19th century 1801-1818) (Athens: Bibliologiko Ergastiri, 1997), pp. 557-558; Lazzaro de Mordo, *Avvertimenti alla Gente di Campagna intorno ai Veleni* (Corfu: Nella Stamperia Nazionale, 1805).

⁴⁴⁵ Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, p.49.

⁴⁴⁶ Karaberopoulos, *Η Ιατρική Ευρωπαϊκή Γνώση στον Ελληνικό Χώρο 1745-1821* (European Medical Knowledge in the Greek World 1745-1821), pp. 34 and 104-105, and Karas, *Οι έπιστήμες στην Τουρκοκρατία* (The Sciences under Ottoman rule), pp.31-143.

exclusively medical books were printed outside the Ottoman state and Ionian islands. Places of publication show a broader reach of Greek scholarship when compared with the predominantly Paduan connection of a few years previously. In addition to Italian universities and print houses, Greek physicians now benefited from the variety and prestige of Vienna, Halle, Paris, and Leipzig. These academic destinations opened up as a new Greek mercantile class established lucrative trading routes and Greek merchant houses (*παροικίες*) in central and western European cities. Assisted by the changes brought about especially by the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji in 1774, the French Revolution and various trading blockades involving the great powers in the Mediterranean, Greek merchants became especially prosperous and fervent benefactors helping to bring European education to the Greek community. Nikolaos Karagianis financed a new hospital in Constantinople and a new School in Trikala Corinthias. In Budapest, local Greek merchants built a school and a hospital for the Greek community. A number of books were printed in the print houses of Buda covering subjects of Greek grammar, astronomy, geometry, physics, botany, and history and in Vienna, Anthimos Gazis helped to establish *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* (Hermes the Scholar) the journal of the learned Greek community in Vienna in 1811. Progressively, the new Greek mercantile class became a generous source of financial support and helped bring European wealth and ideas into the purview of a few among the relatively isolated Greek society. For some Greek communities and aspiring scholars, political conflict especially in the the turn of the eighteenth century had brought some unexpected benefits.⁴⁴⁷

The increasing intellectual scope of medical books in the Greek language is one more element of this process of intellectual discovery. Three of the twenty nine medical works are original expositions of doctoral theses, with the larger part consisting of specific translations or anthologies of contemporary medical knowledge. Specialist medical works related mainly to pathology and pharmacology and included some of the especially popular theories of celebrated European physicians. Three of the books are translations of works

⁴⁴⁷ The extent of the penetration and success of the activities of the Greek mercantile class during that period is studied in Vakalopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, Τουρκοκρατία (1669-1812)* (*History of Modern Hellenism, Ottoman Rule 1669-1812*), pp. 157-236.

by the physician Samuel Auguste André David Tissot (1728 - 1797), the famous Swiss neurologist, professor and Vatican adviser who practiced in Lausanne. Others include Anton Stoerk (1731-1803), physician to the Habsburg court, whose Latin works on pharmacology were translated in a number of European languages, Edward Francis Bousquillon (1744-1816), Hippocratic scholar and professor of surgery in Paris who also practiced at the Hotel Dieu, Luigi Careno (1766-1810), a fervent supporter and promoter of Edward Jenner's method of smallpox vaccination in the continent of Europe, and Giovanni Domenico Santorini (1681-1737), renowned Italian anatomist, 'for the benefit of those among the young Greeks eager to learn' claimed A. Stratigos in the sub-title of his Greek publication, a translation of G. D. Santorini's *Istruzione, intorno alle febri* (Theoretical and practical instruction on fevers).⁴⁴⁸

Importantly, besides the publication of medical subjects clearly intended for the academic physician, one third of medical books were initiated by authors not medically qualified but from a different academic sphere. For many of them, personal experience of European public health initiatives and Enlightenment debates gave rise to notions about the role of medicine beyond the strictly academic. More than one third of the exclusively medical books were intended for use by the Greek community at large as much as the medical profession. As Karas suggests, 'some of these works expressed the need for practical and empirical medical advice for the treatment of a specific affliction rather than scientific medical theory'.⁴⁴⁹ Academic physicians and other learned Greeks of the diaspora were aware of the lack of authoritative physician- approved health manuals to assist those without access to an academic physician. Their desire to improve the health prospects of Greek communities is made clear in the introduction to some of the works: 'it seemed to me very useful for our nation... for everyone to be equipped with this guide for life...' wrote Spyridon Vlantis, editor of K. Michael's book on dietetics, whilst *Υγιεινατάριον* (*Health manual the art of living in health and longevity*) is the title of his edition of an Italian work 'published hereunder for the people, happy if by this work I may be able to

⁴⁴⁸ Antonios Strategos, *Διδασκαλία θεωρηκοπρακτική περί των πυρετών* (*Theoretical and practical instruction on fevers*) (Venice: n. pub., 1745).

⁴⁴⁹ Karas, *Οι έπιστήμες στην Τουρκοκρατία* (*The Sciences under Ottoman rule*), p. 14.

contribute to the good of my dearest compatriots'.⁴⁵⁰ The litterateur Vlantis was not unique. Ioannis Nikolidis, physician and a member of the Academy of Vienna, in the sub-title of his *Interpretation on the therapy for the French disease*, incorporating a translation of the relevant chapter from Anton Stoerck's *Praecepta Medico-Practica*, writes: 'A book most useful and easy to apply by the ordinary public; composed in simple Romeic (Greek).'⁴⁵¹ Other health manuals included S. Moulaimis' *'Antidotes on poisonous bites'* and the university educated editor and printer Georgios Ventotis' Greek version of Samuel Andre Tissot's *'Avis au peuple sur la sante'* (Advice to people for the protection of their health). Clearly, the choices of subjects and preference for a vernacular version of the Greek language point to socio-political as much as scientific motives behind a large part of these medical publications, for the benefit of medical scholars and the Greek people.

Georgios Ventotis' (1757-1795) contribution to public health is also notable for his other choice of Tissot's work, the highly popular *L'onanism*, a much translated medical study dedicated to the exposition of the physical debilities associated with onanism. His Greek edition is of special interest for it advances ideas among the Orthodox community that connect physical illness with moral behaviour and thereby the Church. The Greek editor's firm and unambiguous ethical position in this subject is made clear from the title page especially when compared to Tissot's original:

- S. Tissot's first edition 1760: *L'onanism: ou dissertation physique sur les maladies produites par la masturbation (Onanism: or, a treatise upon the disorders produced by masturbation).*
- G. Ventotis edition 1777: *A treatise on Onanism, describing the diverse passions and diseases that are born by indecent and lecherous pleasures, and especially by the accursed and corruptive act of masturbation.*

For the Greek lay editor, the link of Onanism with morality and disease is evident in the religious precepts of the Orthodox Church. In the twenty-four

⁴⁵⁰ Konstantinos Michael, *Διαιτητικῆς Παραγγέλματα* (Precepts of Dietetics) (Venice: Vlantis, 1819), pp. 5-6; *Υγιεινατάριον* (Health manual) ed. by S. Vlantis (Venice: Vlantis, 1820), p. ζ'.

⁴⁵¹ Ioannis Nikolidis, *Ἑρμηνεία περί τοῦ πῶς πρέπει νά θεραπεύεται τό γαλλικόν πάθος, ἥγουν ἡ μαλαφράντζα* (Interpretation on the therapy of the French disease that is 'malafrantza') (Vienna, n. pub., 1794).

page introduction to the work, his religious notions become clear. The divine connection is made explicit by frequent reference to Biblical sources and Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians.⁴⁵² In his opinion, the passions, lewdness and other pleasure-seeking behaviour associated with the act degrade both the moral and physical condition of the person. Onanism becomes a disease with moral character, assumes a potent religious dimension, weakens the power of the soul (*ψυχικὰς δυνάμεις*) and, 'as the most wise Tissot shows', brings a host of physical afflictions to those engaged in its dubious pleasures.

Tissot's original work, whilst relying on observational analysis and the physical aspects of his subject, occasionally adopted a moral tone. Phrases such as 'odious and criminal habit' and 'instructed in this evil' left the reader in little doubt as to the author's ethical position.⁴⁵³ His authoritative declarations augmented by Ventotis' religious text were adopted by the Orthodox Church as proofs of divine law reinforced by science. Tissot's eighteenth-century judgments were introduced into the Christian canonical corpus that had been evolving since Constantine the Great. In his seminal work *Πηδάλιον* (*Rudder*) combining Orthodox canons into one volume, a work approved by the Orthodox Patriarchate in 1802, St Nikodemos of Mount Athos introduced elements of Tissot's findings and invited its readers to witness the scientific proof to Church doctrine:

Let those who wish read the recently printed
booklet on the subject of masturbation, where,
according to the opinions of physicians, they
may see the countless diseases and symptoms
inflicted to those engaged in this sinful act;⁴⁵⁴

a remarkable example of the multi-faceted relationship between Orthodox Church instruction and the secular world of the early nineteenth century.

⁴⁵² Georgios Ventotis, *Αὐνανισμοῦ Ἐπιτομή* (Abridgement on Onanism) (Venice: n. pub., 1777), pp. X10X - X11X.

⁴⁵³ S. A. Tissot, *Onanism: or a treatise upon the disorders produced by masturbation, or the dangerous effects of secret and excessive venery*, trans. by A. Hume (London: Printed for the translator, 1766), pp. 26 and 44.

⁴⁵⁴ *Πηδάλιον* (*Rudder*), p. 705.

Embracing Western European medicine extended beyond the scientific and moral aspects of disease to practical matters including attitudes to irregular medicine. The adoption and promotion of some European rhetoric against irregular medicine – quacks and popular errors – is best represented by the sentiments expressed in the Greek translations of two European studies. G. Ventotis' (1757-1795) Greek translation of S. A. Tissot's *Νουθεσίαι* ('*Avis au peuple sur la santé*') incorporated the author's chapter on French mountebanks and quacks. Thus academic medical notions on eighteenth century irregular French medicine were transfused to Greek community values and beliefs. G. Zaviras (1744-1804), a non-physician and resident of Hungary for some forty years, was particularly hostile in his condemnation of all Greek empirics declaring that they injure the innocent and besmirch the reputation of academic physicians. In his introduction to S. Ratz' *Ἱατρικαὶ παραινέσεις* (*Medical Exhortations*), G. Zaviras writes that Greek empirics are 'injurious and pestilential to our unfortunate nation... and like monkeys wish to imitate real doctors, professing without shame and scruples to be physicians'.⁴⁵⁵

In the one hundred and twenty year period of our study, the *long durée* of imperial rule and the far-reaching political, economic, and intellectual changes experienced in the continent of Europe had their marked effect on the professional composition, socio-political mind-set and evolution of Greek academic medicine. At the individual and informal group sense, they ranged from a therapeutic function shaped by Venetian and Ottoman cultural links and interests, to a profession with a European scientific and cultural perspective, more political in character, increasingly collectivist, willing to engage with the wider Greek society, prefiguring changes later in the nineteenth century. Until then, for the substantial majority of the Greek community, therapeutic practices would continue along familiar paths.

⁴⁵⁵ Karas, *Ἱστορία καὶ Φιλοσοφία τῶν Ἐπιστημῶν στὸν Ἑλληνικὸ χώρο 17^{ος} - 19^{ος} αἰ.* (History and Philosophy of Sciences in the Greek world 17th-19th century), pp.568-569.

5.2 Medical theory and practice

... the [medical] art is difficult and one should avoid those doctors who cannot agree on anything except how to lead us to our graves...

S. Vlassopoulos⁴⁵⁶

Despite his intimate relationship with medical circles in the Ionian islands, the former Governor for Health was surprisingly uncomplimentary about the medical profession when it came to the conflicting medical theories and practices of local physicians early in the nineteenth century. Primarily, he alluded to the intense debates between supporters of the methods of the 'English Hippocrates' Dr Thomas Sydenham and Boerhaave and those in favour of Brunonianism, the medical philosophy promoted by the eighteenth-century Scottish physician John Brown (1735-1788). Vlassopoulos was aware of the methods and arguments of the Brunonian camp which had been set out by the military physician Carlo Botta (1766-1837) in his *Storia naturale e medicale dell'isola di Corfu* published in 1799. With biting wit, he judged the differences between the opposing camps as pronounced as 'those between the Greeks of antiquity and the Phrygian people' (in his day the west-central part of Anatolia).⁴⁵⁷ What were the leading medical theories that determined therapeutics in the region and what was the response of the Greek patient and authorities to the prevailing methods of academic physicians?

In his *Elementa medicinae* of 1780, John Brown promoted his system as the application of natural philosophy and Newtonian principles to medicine. He simplified the core cause of disease as a change in a person's natural energy or excitability. Excess levels of energy (excitability) caused the condition known as *sthenia*; deficiency in energy he defined as *asthenia*.⁴⁵⁸ Brown's system was simple and open to widely different interpretation with far reaching impact to contemporary medicine. According to Lawrence, 'its significance lay not in its detail but as a system built on random, uncontrolled, unscientific

⁴⁵⁶ Vlassopoulos, Στατιστικά Ίστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), p. 114.

⁴⁵⁷ Vlassopoulos, Στατιστικά Ίστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), p. 113.

⁴⁵⁸ From the Greek *σθένος* (*sthenos*) 'strength'.

interpretation'.⁴⁵⁹ Brown's method appealed to a number of physicians on the continent of Europe including Italy. For instance, in the Ospedale di San Matteo, affiliated with the University of Pavia, Professor Joseph Frank had become a fervent supporter of Brown and in Germany, Adalbert Marcus, Gottingen graduate and director of Bamberg Hospital, announced that 'the task of proving the Brunonian principles is the duty of all physicians'.⁴⁶⁰

Brown's controversial medical philosophy had also spread across the Greek academic medical world. The physician Sergios Ioannou, graduate of Pavia and firm opponent of Brown's theory, published the most severe condemnation of the practices of Antonio Pezzoni, Brunonian Director of the Galata hospital in Constantinople:

To all the diverse afflictions the same method was prescribed: stimulants or tonics... A deplorable and lamentable sight to see all of the patients deep in lethargy, drunken by the wine [given as medication] almost manic by the drastic medicaments to await their death.⁴⁶¹

Physicians in Constantinople were not unique in their support for Brown. According to the English surgeon John Hennen, around 1820, 'there were seven physicians and three surgeons resident in the town of Corfu; almost universally Brunonians'.⁴⁶² For the physician Henry Holland visiting the Northern city of Ioannina, Brown's doctrine had 'infused into many [Greek doctors] in some one or other of its modifications'.⁴⁶³ In the intimate social circles of Corfu and Ioannina, physicians with conflicting views must have felt especially ill at ease among themselves.

Vlassopoulos invited the opinion of the highly respected Lazzaro de Mordo who had studied medicine at the University of Padua, was chief Rabbi of

⁴⁵⁹ Christopher Lawrence, 'Cullen, Brown and the poverty of essentialism' in *Brunonianism in Britain and Europe*, ed. by W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter, *Medical History*, Supplement No. 8, (1988), pp. 1-21 (p. 20).

⁴⁶⁰ Guenter B. Risse, 'Brunonian therapeutics' in *Brunonianism in Britain and Europe*, 46-62 (p. 57).

⁴⁶¹ Konstantinos Sathas, 'Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Γαλατῇ Γραικικοῦ Νοσοκομείου' (Regarding the Greek Hospital of Galata), *Πανδώρα*, 465, vol 10 (1869), 241-248 (p. 246).

⁴⁶² Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 203.

⁴⁶³ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, p. 165.

the Corfu synagogue, a founding member of the *Collegio Medico Nazionale* in Corfu, member of various European Academies and referred to by his contemporaries as the local Maimonides. De Mordo practised medicine along the principles of the Corpus Hippocraticum and, it seems, the neo-Hippocratics Sydenham (1624-1689) and Boerhaave (1668-1738). Western medical tradition based on Hippocrates, Galen and a variety of medieval authorities had to accommodate recent medical discoveries such as blood circulation, new anatomical knowledge, the revelations of the microscope, and the theories of Leibniz, Newton and others. Boerhaave's doctrines were formulated in the early part of the eighteenth century, and fused the new ideas and discoveries along a more mechanistic explanatory model which served as a new standard for medical education and practice. The leading British physician of the eighteenth century William Cullen (1710-1790) commenting on his own student days in Edinburgh, said 'I was taught to think Boerhaave's system very perfect, complete and sufficient'.⁴⁶⁴

De Mordo's other 'leading light', Thomas Sydenham, was vastly influential on the medical profession in transforming the perception of disease. By stressing the value of clinical observation he became the primary exponent of 'bedside medicine', and a cult medical figure in the eighteenth century and the Paris medical school at the beginning of the nineteenth.⁴⁶⁵ In his letter of 20th August 1809 to Vlassopoulos, de Mordo supported his own position and maintained that it was Boerhaave's and Sydenham's precepts that prevailed in the Ionian Islands:

If we wish to learn the truth with regard to the state of medicine in this island... the therapeutic method for the most frequently occurring illnesses is that taught by the experience and authority of distinguished doctors starting from Hippocrates, Sydenham, Boerhaave and

⁴⁶⁴ Quoted in L.S. King, *The Medical World of the Eighteenth Century*, (New York: Krieger, 1971), p. 59.

⁴⁶⁵ Wear, 'Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700', pp. 359-360.

others who tackle illnesses according to their nature
by taking note of their symptoms.

Lazzaro de Mordo⁴⁶⁶

However, eighteenth-century medicine was influenced by ongoing scientific developments prompting further questions to which neither Boerhaave nor Sydenham had the answers. Besides Brown, eighteenth-century medicine saw the challenge of Edinburgh, Halle, Leiden, Gottingen, and London to the long-established Italian centres of medical excellence encouraging further experimentation and rival theories. These included the concept of 'natural balance' based on Galen's six 'non-naturals' (air, diet, temperance, sleep, exercise, and equanimity), the 'animist' Georg Ernst Stahl (1659-1734) in Halle, John Hunter (1728-1793) in London advocating a 'vital force' and the exponents of '*Naturphilosophie*' such as Lazzaro Spallanzani (1729-1799), whose experiments with salamanders demonstrated there is more to life than Boerhaave's or Brown's medical systems. At the turn of the century, Greek physicians were in touch with European medical circles and it was in this environment of vigorous scientific debate that they had to formulate their medical philosophy and apply their therapies.

How did Greek patients react to their doctors' conflicting therapeutic pathways? It appears that such debates were confined to the learned medical circles of the Greek community, and that the wider population was not aware of the issue. It would have been rare for a Greek patient to afford the advice of more than one physician at a time of illness and have the dubious benefit of experts disputing the cause and cure of one's afflictions. The majority would have received the doctor's advice with equanimity and hoped for a successful outcome. For example, the sickly Greek author of the Introduction in the *Υγιεινατάριον* (Health manual) remains highly respectful of the medical profession, yet rues that 'whatever medicines were given to me, instead of improving they were only useful in that they weakened my healthy disposition'.⁴⁶⁷ Despite his complaints, he continues to trust his physicians with

⁴⁶⁶ Quoted by Vlassopoulos, *Στατιστικά Ίστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις* (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), pp.114-115.

⁴⁶⁷ Vlantis, *Υγιεινατάριον* (Health manual), p. 15'.

further remedies and asks them for copies of Hippocrates' Aphorisms and 'the books of Galen' to seek further advice. In the ancients' teaching he 'felt that there must be some assured Canons of Health'.⁴⁶⁸ Aspects of neo-Hippocratic theory could be understood by many lay folk and by his demonstration of scientific 'reasoning' for an illness the academic physician gained the trust of his patients. The following anonymous letter, written around 1799 by a Corfiot doctor to one of his patients, his cousin, reveals academic medicine 'in practice', this time medical advice by post. (Illustration 25) Below are excerpts of his diagnosis and therapeutic instructions:

Dear Cousin,

Having acknowledged that the annoyance that you suffer is palpitation, it is to be attributed to the irritation of the heart tissues caused by bitter (*acre*) substances and glutinous blood. It is necessary to make it more fluid and precisely in the following way. A diet of food easy to digest capable of liquefying the blood and make it smooth running... the bloodletting of the arm the day after the cathartic composed of two ounces of manna and the pulp of tamarinds diluted in six litres of water to which you add *Sal Polichresto*. The phlebotomy of the foot is to be preferred to that of the arm. If you care for such a healing method and good regimen they will make you happy. As for the widow Papadia, who suffers from irregularity and abundance of her period, in other words from immoderate flux... I would say that it is the cause of excessive acrimony of the blood as is demonstrated by the body that is suffering from such diseases appearing unusual and flabby. As a result the blood becomes thin and serous which she confirms from her flux. In the event of strong attacks I would suggest the bloodletting of the arm... in the event of persisting violent attacks, some clothes soaked in water and vinegar in equal parts can be placed on the abdomen, kidneys and femurs...

Forgive me if I talked too much but I wanted to show you

⁴⁶⁸ Vlantis, 'Υγεινατάριον (Health manual), p.18'.

the concern that I have for the people in my care.

Your beloved relative,

Doctor⁴⁶⁹

The physician's manner is noticeably sympathetic and he has taken time to explain the scientific interpretation of his diagnosis, a feature of his relationship with the patient that lends authority and confidence to his judgement. He expects his patient to follow some of his academic logic. His references to the condition of the blood, the condition of heart fibres and body, the expected outcomes of the suggested medications, use of bloodletting, cathartics and food regimen are clear indications of neo-Hippocratic medicine in action. Reflecting De Mordo's observations to Vlassopoulos, his diagnostic and therapeutic methods are conventional and typical of the therapeutic approach followed by academic physicians and their patients at the time.

What of the medical profession's response to the extraordinary discovery of inoculation against the smallpox? Despite the publication of the pioneering work of Timonis and Pylarinos early in the eighteenth century, real progress for preventive inoculation of the Greek community was made only one hundred years later. As in much of Europe, reactionary and entrenched attitudes came from among the community, clerics and the medical profession. Despite the grave death toll from the disease, there is no evidence to suggest enthusiastic and sustainable support for the method initiated by Timonis and Pylarinos and pioneered successfully in Britain by the Suttons and in the USA by James Kirkpatrick.

Inoculation with the human form of smallpox was not free from danger to the public or the health authorities. There were inherent risks from cross-infection and fears that the maintenance of the disease within a community could lead to unwarranted infection. In addition, a number of academic physicians schooled on neo-Hippocratic methods were unable to contextualise the inoculation process in contemporary therapeutics. Moreover, fear of risking their reputation and awareness of the state authorities' limitations engendered a natural reluctance to engage with the problem and its solution. With the arrival of the new century, Jenner's revolutionary and safer method of

⁴⁶⁹ HAC, fols 'katalipa'.

vaccination using material from cowpox became known throughout the region. However, the disquiet among the Greek population and some physicians persisted. In 1808 the French General Governor of Corfu Cezar Berthier warned doctors, surgeons and midwives against 'spreading untrue opinions regarding the efficacy of Jenner's method'.⁴⁷⁰ It was in an effort to overcome such prejudices that the anonymous Greek author of '*An exhortatory instruction on the use of vaccination*' printed in Vienna set out to inform his Greek readers on the proven success and procedure of Jennerian vaccination: 'How is it possible for someone to make use of these cures whilst in a state of darkness and absolute ignorance?' he observed, pointing to 'malicious persons inventing reasons against the truth'.⁴⁷¹ It seems that Berthier's Corfu experience had echoes throughout the Greek community. An assessment of the key factors necessary for the effective implementation of a vaccination programme reveals broader and deep-seated deficiencies.

Successful vaccination required the government's willingness to act, the conviction of local leadership (civic, religious and medical authorities), and the conviction of the public. Political will, the infrastructure to reach effectively the wider population and the funds necessary to implement a vaccination programme were at best sporadic and at worse non-existent. For those in the Ionian Islands, the early years of the nineteenth century were especially challenging. The administration was under intense economic pressure as a result of war, social conflict and the frequent change of regime; conditions that would scupper most vaccination initiatives. In the regions under Ottoman rule, government plans for public health had been conspicuously absent throughout the eighteenth century. In the new century, the situation in Crete, as reported by the German physician F. W. Sieber, is indicative of the continuing challenges facing physicians practicing vaccination outside the metropolis of Constantinople: In 1817 a doctor in the town of Chanea 'procured at great expense from Constantinople good vaccine matter and introduced the cow-

⁴⁷⁰ I. Laskaratos, S. Marketos, 'Νεώτερα στοιχεία διά τήν ἐφαρμογήν τοῦ ἐμβολιασμοῦ κατά τῆς εὐλογίας εἰς τὰ Ἑπτάνησα', (Recent facts relating to the implementation of inoculation against smallpox in the Heptanissa), *Materia Medica Greca*, 9. 1, (February 1981), 104-109 (p. 106).

⁴⁷¹ Anon, *Διδασκαλία παραινετική περί τῆς χρήσεως τῆς δαμαλίδος* (Exhortatory instruction on the use of vaccination) (Venice: Ventotis, 1805), pp. 4-6.

pox into Crete in spite of the obstacles'.⁴⁷² It was a laudable initiative on the part of the physician as much as an indication of the indifference of the Cretan government to take any measures to protect its people's health. The situation was similar in most of the Greek – and for that matter Ottoman or Jewish – communities in the region.

At the technocratic level, that is from those 'in the know' to those who need to act, the vaccination process demanded too much from a weak state apparatus that was subject to endemic funding problems and deep-seated mistrust by the people. Like their Cretan colleague, most medical practitioners in the Ionian Islands and Constantinople embraced Jenner's method. It was formally endorsed in the regulations of the Collegio Medico of Corfu in 1802 and by Antonio Pezzoni, Director of the Galata hospital in Constantinople.⁴⁷³ However, without the sustained commitment of state and local government, civic, and religious leadership the prospects for a successful programme of vaccination in the Ionian Islands or the Ottoman territory were always doubtful.

With the departure of Venice in 1797 after centuries of domination and cultural influence, political change in the region offered prospects for those wishing to follow a political career and for others to pursue new local initiatives in the field of medicine. As G. Pentogalos and others show, the medical profession was in the 'forefront of political authority' with a significant number of academically qualified physicians entering politics in the Islands.⁴⁷⁴ Promoted by the substantial political medical lobby, the Medical College of Corfu (*Collegio Medico*) was established in 1802, the first institution of its type in the modern Greek world. Its articles of incorporation are indicative of its comprehensive role and the far-reaching aspirations of its founding members. Three of the articles read 'The decisions of the College relate to the means necessary for the creation and regulation of the medical order (*polizia*) in the islands', 'everything that relates to the general and local morbidity is the object of the College', and 'the College will provide the Government the annual

⁴⁷² Sieber, *Travels in the Island of Crete in the year 1817*, p. 41.

⁴⁷³ Kefallonitis, *Ιστορία του Αστικού Νοσοκομείου Κερκύρας* (History of the civic hospital of Corfu), p. 45; Anon, *Διδασκαλία παραινετική περί της χρήσεως της δαμαλίδος* (*Exhortatory instruction on the use of vaccination*), p. 8.

⁴⁷⁴ Pentogalos, *Γιατροί και Ιατρική Κεφαλονιάς* (Kefalonian Physicians and Medicine), pp. 43-45; Also in Vitsos, pp. 76-84.

tables of births, deaths, marriages, and morbidity data with appropriate observations'.⁴⁷⁵ College authorities were invested with the exclusive power to examine, approve and license medical doctors, surgeons, health officials, midwives and pharmacists. In addition to aspects of health regulation, the College- appointed professors undertook to teach a range of medical subjects and approve the licensing of medical practitioners following apprenticeship with an established doctor or surgeon.⁴⁷⁶ Their actions demonstrate the immediate effects of the extensive political involvement by the medical fraternity, a strong desire to establish a version of medical order (*polizia*) modelled on European practice, and a fervent wish to promote medical education and elevate the level of health care for the community. As members of the newly formed senate, Greek physicians now possessed real political authority to put into effect their collective credo. For this reason, the establishment of the new Medical College is an event of special significance not only by reason of its creation but also as an expression of the aspirations of the local medical community and a further example of European intellectual influence on Greek society. The political and economic turbulence in the region between the time of the College's creation and the arrival of the British in 1815 did take its toll on the implementation of these initiatives, but the relationship between the medical profession, the state and community had taken a new turn.

To what extent are the medical developments of the Ionian Islands mirrored on the Ottoman shores? The conditions for Greek physicians to obtain the remit and funds from the Sublime Porte or regional administrators, Ottoman or Christian, for the creation of medical schools and improvements in public health were particularly unfavourable. An entrenched Ottoman governmental structure and process, the material demands of waging war, the aftershocks of the war with Venice and repossession of the Morea in 1718, the suppression of the 1770 rising in the Morea and elsewhere in the region, and complex political relationships within the Greek community did not engender receptive attitudes or a suitable environment for changes in community

⁴⁷⁵ Kefallonitis, *Ιστορία τοῦ Ἀστικοῦ Νοσοκομείου Κερκύρας* (History of the civic hospital of Corfu), p. 45.

⁴⁷⁶ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 203.

care.⁴⁷⁷ Whilst a number of intellectual and economic forces were setting off far-reaching changes in the mindset and behaviour of many Greek academic physicians, for the time being, political and economic circumstances imposed limitations on the speed and reach of their therapeutic influence on the Greek community under Ottoman rule.

5.3 A good doctor and a pharmacy

At the start of this chapter, Vlassopoulos regrets the lack of a good doctor and a pharmacy in the countryside. In contrast, his friend E. Theotokis is extremely cautious of any initiative to remedy the situation and questions both the need and value of physicians to countryside folk: 'There is no need for doctors and pharmacists in the countryside... from the moment that we will establish them, there will be more diseases than at present'.⁴⁷⁸ Although opposed in their views, both Vlassopoulos and Theotokis invite questions as to the need and therapeutic impact of regular medicine in sections of Greek society. How closely connected was regular medicine to the lives of the community and what was the consequence of the relationship at the turn of the eighteenth century?

In regard to the Ionian islands, the September 1810 list of Corfiot medical practitioners who 'by the legally required qualifications are allowed to practice the medical science' shows nineteen doctors' and twelve surgeons' names.⁴⁷⁹ Five were absent from the island. Approximately one third of Corfiots (14,400) lived in the town and, on the whole, it was town dwellers who had the financial means to meet the expense of a qualified doctor. In contrast, even after the appointment of three country doctors in 1810, timely access to a qualified professional for Corfu's majority (30,600) country folk was restricted somewhat as the ratio of country people per doctor was 10,190:1. The situation was comparable to that prevailing in Zante. Writing around 1811,

⁴⁷⁷ For details of the conflict see Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία του Νέου Έλληνισμού, Τουρκοκρατία (1669-1812)* (*History of Modern Hellenism, Ottoman Rule 1669-1812*), pp. 372-430.

⁴⁷⁸ E. Theotokis, *Détails sur Corfou*, p.108.

⁴⁷⁹ Kefallonitis, *Ιστορία του Αστικού Νοσοκομείου Κερκύρας* (*History of the civic hospital of Corfu*), p. 77; Chairman Report, Medical College of Corfu.

Paolo Mercati does not show any physicians, surgeons or druggists 'located in the countryside'.⁴⁸⁰

Table 7 Zante population and medical profession location

	<u>Town</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Total</u>
Population	14124	19229	33353
Doctors and Surgeons	16	-	16
Apothecaries	18	-	18

Similarly, in the island of Kefalonia, the majority of physicians were located in the population centres of Kastro, Lixouri and Argostoli.⁴⁸¹ Occasionally, in some of the islands, municipal doctors (*Condottati*) were engaged to provide medical services to the authorities. Appointed for two years by the Council of Noblemen, they serviced the town's poor, assisted the administration in forensic matters and in the control of pharmacies and medicines. Even after the formation of the British Protectorate in 1815, the British surgeon Hennen's report shows that, for the whole of the island of Kefalonia (population ca 53,200), there were one physician and a surgeon to attend the sick poor.⁴⁸² Altogether, it seems that Vlassopoulos' opinion on the low level of physician care for Corfu's countryside inhabitants is mirrored in the other islands. But in addition to geographical access to a physician, the contribution of academic medicine needs to be considered in the context of the socio-political situation and prevailing living conditions of the inhabitants.

After the *nobili* (aristocrats) and the *cittadini* (bourgeois), the substantial majority of the Ionian island community belonged to the *popolari* (in the towns) and the *villani* (in the countryside). On the whole, this majority lived in reduced circumstances and especially those in the countryside who, in conditions of serfdom, were entirely dependent on their landowner. For example, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the vicissitudes of earthquakes, servitude and rebellion in Kefalonia were such that in his 1759 report to the Venetian Senate, Governor Alberto Magno held the local landowners responsible for

⁴⁸⁰ Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Città ed Isola di Zante*, (Zante, 1811), pp. 78-79.

⁴⁸¹ Pentogalos, *Γιατροί και Ιατρική Κεφαλονιάς* (Kefalonian Physicians and Medicine), pp. 139-304.

⁴⁸² Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, pp. 270, 278.

the deplorable state of the island's community and suggested their relocation and punishment.⁴⁸³ Indeed, Magno's report illustrates the extreme level of dispossession inflicted upon the *villani* even by the island's Health Authority. Magno's investigations had uncovered the illegal extortions from Kefalonian peasants returning from the Ottoman Morea where they had travelled in search of seasonal work at harvest time. It was required that, upon returning to the island, all travellers were to stay in the *Lazaretto* (Quarantine House) for a number of days where they paid for their upkeep. According to Magno, the local Magistrate of Health, already paid by the state for his work, used a variety of illegal methods to extract money from those in quarantine. In its vote of December 1759 the Venetian Senate ordered: '*Magistrato alla Sanita versi sul controscritto articolo per imporvi la dovuta emenda*' (Health Magistrate pay attention to this instruction to impose the proper charges).⁴⁸⁴

The episode is especially significant for it illustrates the declining political relationships between Venice, its appointed officials, and the majority of the population. It highlights the level of corruption under Venetian rule and its unwillingness to redress injustice through local magistrates. Were the illegal money extractions the rare act of a lowly official, the higher authorities in the islands would have dealt with the perpetrator with speed through the local courts. As it was, it required the report of a most senior Venetian official to his government, suggesting that the very high office of the Health Magistrate was implicated in the affair, an issue demanding cautious conduct on the part of the Governor. Finally, the reaction of the Serenissima to the guilty party was but a mild reprimand reminding the Magistrate of Health of his duty, ironically the official responsible for the health of those he defrauded.

Whilst this state of affairs relates to Kefalonia, it illustrates the singularly disadvantageous position of the poor and the peasants in their relationships with state medical authorities. Poor economic and social conditions and unfavourable class attitudes created adverse conditions for connecting the poor with town medicine. It was for these reasons that the authorities saw the need

⁴⁸³ G. N. Moschopoulos, *Ιστορία της Κεφαλονιάς* (History of Kefalonia) (Athens: n. pub., 1985), pp. 174-175.

⁴⁸⁴ Quoted in Moschopoulos, '*Στοιχεία της οικονομικής, πνευματικής και ήθικης καταστάσεως στην Κεφαλονιά ...*' (Evidence of the economic, intellectual and moral condition in Kefalonia), pp. 219-220.

to appoint doctors for the poor. As Pouqueville ruefully observed, 'good health does not go hand in hand with extreme slavery'.⁴⁸⁵ Subsequent to the Serenissima's departure, there were conspicuous efforts to improve public health. They included public hygiene measures, free physicians, and provision for medication for the underprivileged.⁴⁸⁶ However, frequent changes of government and chronic lack of funds undermined the effectiveness of such measures at the local level. Regular medicine remained beyond the reach of most in the community.

To what extent is the experience of the Ionian islands mirrored in the Ottoman-ruled territories? Increasingly in the eighteenth century, Greek physicians educated in the West are found throughout the larger towns in the region, albeit in much lower numbers than the Ionian Islands. Consular and traveller reports suggest one or two physicians in town locations, with major provincial administration centres such as Ioannina and Salonica, attracting a greater number. Hence, we find doctors in Larissa, Trikala, Tripoli, Candia, Patras and Athens frequently in the service of the local Ottoman high officials and supplementing their income by the sale of medicines and treatment of patients among the local community.⁴⁸⁷ Accordingly, as in the Ionian Islands, in the predominantly agrarian society of Ottoman Greece access to an academic physician was beyond the reach of most ordinary people.

Compared with the high social position of their colleagues in the Venetian region, the social and political status of Greek physicians in the Ottoman areas was mixed. Despite the dejected position of most Greek Orthodox subjects under Ottoman rule, social deference was observed by the Greek community towards their compatriots in distinguished positions including medical practitioners. Hence, those in higher government office were addressed as *Εὐγενέστατος* (most noble), successful merchants as *Τιμιότατος* (most honest / honourable) and physicians as *Ἐξοχότατος* (most excellent).⁴⁸⁸ In the island of Chios which enjoyed special privileges under the Sultan's family, public esteem for a physician extended to his spouse and, unusually, was found

⁴⁸⁵ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 188.

⁴⁸⁶ Kefallonitis, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀστικοῦ Νοσοκομείου Κερκύρας* (History of the civic hospital of Corfu), pp. 64-65.

⁴⁸⁷ For example, Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, i, pp. 276, 354, and 437.

⁴⁸⁸ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, p. 165.

among the Ottoman community. Writing in 1747, the French traveller Julien Galland observed that in Chios the Greeks address the physician with the title of *μισέ* (*monsieur*), his spouse with the title *μαντόνι* (*madame*) whilst the Ottoman authorities 'allow him to wear yellow morocco shoes and bright colour clothes, articles usually forbidden to their subject peoples'.⁴⁸⁹

However, outside Chios, the conditions for physicians were subject to the caprice of petty Ottoman officials and political instability. As the reports of the Venetian consul in the city of Thessaloniki show, a physician's profession offered scant protection from the abuse of authority:

25th July 1743 – The Venetian subject doctor Venizelos

Assanis, seating outside a coffee house stood up to greet an officer of the local Mullah... in answer to the officer's question as to the whereabouts of the shop-owner he answered that he did not know. In anger, the officer ordered that he receives fifty lashes... may God help him...⁴⁹⁰

A physician's status was elevated when under the patronage of a high Ottoman official. According to Holland, the three medical attendants to the Visier of Ioannina earned 6000 piastres each, a little more than 300/ per annum and the license to practice in the city, 'which probably doubled their earnings'.⁴⁹¹ This was an extraordinary amount when compared with the equivalent annual salary of 560 piastres for the senior doctor-surgeon attending a military hospital of the Septinsular Republic.⁴⁹²

Greek physicians could supplement their medical income from landownership, political office or as consuls representing a foreign trading power, positions obtained by the advantages of their European education and useful political connections. Typically, Iacovos Pylarinos of smallpox inoculation fame acted as Venetian consul in Smyrna whilst Daniel Choidas provided medical services and held a number of judicial roles in Zante and Kefalonia.

⁴⁸⁹ J. Galland in *Η Χίος παρά τοῖς Γεωγράφοις καί Περιηγηταῖς* (Chios according to geographers and travellers), ii, p. 728.

⁴⁹⁰ Mertzios, *Μνημεῖα Μακεδονικῆς Ἱστορίας* (Records of Macedonian History, pp. 321.

⁴⁹¹ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands*, p. 164.

⁴⁹² Pentogalos, *Γιατροί και Ιατρική Κεφαλονιάς* (Kefalonian Physicians and Medicine), p. 491.

Frequently, doctors engaged in the sale of medicines although the practice was resisted by the Venetian authorities in an effort to prevent unfair competition or local cartels.

From the later middle ages, pharmaceuticals had evolved as a Venetian speciality and as an *arte nobile* allowing its practitioners to enter their names in the patricians' Golden Book (*Libro d' Oro*). The specialist *Collegio farmaceutico* was formed in Venice in 1565.⁴⁹³ After that year, no one was allowed to establish a pharmacy in the Ionian Islands without proper authorisation. (Illustration 26) In the eighteenth century, the Serenissima still held a monopoly on medicines within its territories and a strong trading position in the Eastern Mediterranean; market conditions offering great opportunities for any of its subjects able to secure a trading permit. The approved medicine list included Theriac, the famed panacea of the ancients, Peruvian bark, and Opium, three assured money spinners for the Venetian state which applied strict control on their distribution and pricing. However, the relative frequency of Venetian laws forbidding the sale of medicines by unapproved apothecaries in the islands is indicative of the evasive tactics and the lucrative nature of these enterprises under the protection of local political elites and the wider Venetian medical monopoly. Despite the restrictive laws of 1692, 1760, 1763 and 1768, the practice continued unabated. In 1810, following the departure of Venice, the authorities of Collegio Medico in Corfu considered it appropriate to 'allow the apothecaries of the islands who have practiced pharmacy for a number of years to continue without any examination and grants the necessary Diploma'.⁴⁹⁴ Although enacted later, it is significant that this regulation (article 53) was first introduced in the articles of incorporation of the College in 1802 under the auspices of the new Septinsular Republic; a confirmation of the continuing unauthorised pharmaceutical practices under the new government. Besides lack of proper authorisation, irregularities included sale of obsolete *materia medica* and profiteering leading to the directives of 1752 and 1782 that included a state-

⁴⁹³ Emmanouil, 'Η Φαρμακευτική εις τήν Ζάκυνθον καί τήν Ἑπτάνησον ἐπὶ Ἑνετοκρατίας καί Ἀγγλικῆς προστασίας' (Pharmaceutics in Zante and the Ionian Islands during the Venetian Rule and British Protectorate), p. 2.

⁴⁹⁴ Kefallonitis, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Αστικοῦ Νοσοκομείου Κερκύρας* (History of the civic hospital of Corfu), p. 49.

approved retail price list for some one hundred and ninety five medicines available in the typical Ionian pharmacy (*Spezieria*).⁴⁹⁵

As with physicians, at the turn of the new century, Mercati's report for Zante shows that there were a number of apothecaries in town but none in the countryside.⁴⁹⁶ On the whole, the prices for most medicines were beyond the means of the poorer classes, a situation confirmed by the island authority's measures to alleviate the problem: The regulation of September 1753 provided a list of easy-to-use, low-cost medicines which Zante's apothecaries in town were obliged to hold in stock and, for the avoidance of profiteering, to display prominently the state-approved prices inside the pharmacy.⁴⁹⁷ The Venetian state monopoly in medicines had its downsides: artificially high prices pushing medications beyond the reach of the majority of the population. As in the case of academic physicians, for most of the time, state medicines were not closely connected with the poor and peasant sections of society.

In search of further profit, Ionian island apothecaries like the Kefalonian Antonios Mentoros (in 1753), financed joint-ventures for the sale of medical products in the Ottoman-ruled Morea.⁴⁹⁸ Unlike the licensing regulations in Venetian territories, trading in medicines in the Ottoman region was relatively open to competition. On his travels to the mainland, Mentoros was able to compete with local apothecaries and with travelling sellers of medicines, local sellers of herbs and remedies and with imported medications from Western Europe. Travellers to the Ottoman-ruled region make few comments relating to pharmacies or state regulations regarding the supply of *materia medica*. In contrast, as we have seen, from the frequent mention of specific drugs in contemporary iatrosophic texts and traveller reports, it appears that a number of widely sourced medicines were in use. They included the popular purgatives manna, scammony, and castor oil, as well as various forms of

⁴⁹⁵ Emmanouil, 'Η Φαρμακευτική εις τήν Ζάκυνθον καί τήν Ἑπτάνησον ἐπὶ Ἑνετοκρατίας καί Ἀγγλικῆς προστασίας' (Pharmaceutics in Zante and the Ionian Islands during the Venetian Rule and British Protectorate), pp. 7-8. For further details on the matter of apothecary compliance to regulations see pp. 1-17, and Pentogalos, *Γιατροί και Ιατρική Κεφαλονιάς* (Kefalonian Physicians and Medicine), pp. 495-499.

⁴⁹⁶ See Table 7, section 5.3: A good doctor and a pharmacy.

⁴⁹⁷ Emmanouil, 'Η Φαρμακευτική εις τήν Ζάκυνθον καί τήν Ἑπτάνησον ἐπὶ Ἑνετοκρατίας καί Ἀγγλικῆς προστασίας' (Pharmaceutics in Zante and the Ionian Islands during the Venetian Rule and British Protectorate), p. 15.

⁴⁹⁸ Pentogalos, *Γιατροί και Ιατρική Κεφαλονιάς* (Kefalonian Physicians and Medicine), p. 497.

opium, Peruvian bark and other medications with Italian names suggesting their Venetian origin and high popularity among the community.

Unlike the Venetian islands, in the Ottoman territories the need for personal assurance of the quality of medications, opportunities for further earnings, or the mere absence of a reliable local pharmacy made the combined practice of physician - apothecary a preferred option for many academically qualified doctors. The German traveller and medic F.W. Sieber notes that in 1817 Domenico di St. Antonio, a native of Messina and physician to the Pasha of Candia, at the time under Ottoman rule, maintained a laboratory in his house and during his walks with Sieber 'made his servant gather the plants he wanted, such as thyme, mint, &c., but particularly great quantities of the fruit of the *Palma Christi* (*Ricinus communis*) which he intended to use for making castor oil'.⁴⁹⁹

From the middle of the eighteenth century, the increase in trade with central Europe offered new options for the purchase of medications. Those among the Greek community living in the Ottoman regions and with merchant connections and financial means had the opportunity to purchase the medications of the Halle Orphanage. A centre of German Pietism, the foundation derived a major portion of its resources 'from the shrewd pursuit of a highly successful pharmaceutical manufacture and commerce'.⁵⁰⁰ The Halle Orphanage began its pharmaceutical trade early in the eighteenth century and actively promoted its remedies through associate apothecaries, commercial houses and direct sales across the continent of Europe, Russia, India, and North America until 1780. A key component of the operation was the publication and wide circulation of a highly commercial text extolling the provenance, benefits, and purchase options of its medications. The book was translated into many languages including Latin, French, English, Dutch, Tamil, Russian and Greek. There are at least three known Greek editions of the

⁴⁹⁹ Sieber, *Travels in the Island of Crete in the year 1817*, p. 15.

⁵⁰⁰ Renate Wilson, 'The Traffic in Halle Orphanage Medications: Medicinals, Philanthropy, and Colonial Mission', *Caduceus*, 13. 1 (Spring 1997), 6-22 (p.6). Also by the same author *Pious traders in medicine: a German pharmaceutical network in eighteenth-century North America* (University Park Pa: Pennsylvania State UP, 2000).

official version authored by D.S. Madai: the translation of Augustus Mayer of 1752, and two by Ioannis Adamis published in 1756 and 1772.⁵⁰¹

In her study of the Halle Orphanage R. Wilson observes that the success of the foundation was based on 'consistent quality, brand recognition, and loyalty'.⁵⁰² In its Greek context, the language of promotion for the Orphanage medications underlines its entrepreneurial business model and the occasionally blurred distinctions between regular and irregular medicine of eighteenth century Europe. In the Greek edition, despite its declared origins and association with scientific medicine, the foundation set itself in competition with local physicians:

Because until now whoever falls ill is used to calling
the doctor in search of cure by his mediation, a result
obtained at much expense... thinking of this and with
good intent, [we] set out to assist those who fall ill
by an easier route and without the presence of a doctor.⁵⁰³

This is clearly unusual for a physician-led organisation and against the conditions of the foundation's royal and other privileges which stipulated that 'sales outside licensed pharmacies would be restricted to locations where no physicians and pharmacists were available'.⁵⁰⁴ The Orphanage management knew it was involved in a highly entrepreneurial activity from which their medicines brought immense financial benefits approximating thirty thousand Reichsthaler (£6000) per annum. If circumventing the rules outside Saxony brought income to Halle and the Orphanage so be it. In openly competing with the medical profession the operation's similarities with irregular medicine extended to the 'rhetoric of conviction', a tactic associated with effective

⁵⁰¹ Ioannis Adamis, *Σύντομος Έρμηνεία περί της Ένεργείας και Ώφελείας μερικῶν καὶ δοκιμασμένων Ἱατρικῶν, ὅπου πιστῶς καὶ εὐστόχως συσκευάζονται καὶ ἐτοιμῶς διαπωλοῦνται εἰς τὸ Ὁρφανοτροφεῖον τῆς ἐν τῇ Σαξονίᾳ Μαγδεμβουργικῆς Ἀλλῆς* (A short account of the effects and benefits of some approved medicines which are faithfully and purposefully manufactured and dispensed in the Orphanhouse of Halle in Magdeburg, Saxony) (Halle: Halle Orphanhouse, 1772).

⁵⁰² Wilson, *The Traffic in Halle Orphanage Medications*, p. 6.

⁵⁰³ Adamis, *Σύντομος Έρμηνεία περί της Ένεργείας καὶ Ώφελείας...* (A short account of the effects and benefits...), p.12 of the introduction; (page number added as no page markings).

⁵⁰⁴ Wilson, *The Traffic in Halle Orphanage Medications*, p. 14.

communication and essential for the promotion of irregular medicine.⁵⁰⁵ In the promotion of *Pulvis Solaris* to the Greek community the authors set out to advance the most admirable therapeutic attributes of their medications whilst protecting themselves against accusations of excessive claims:

Pulvis Solaris: By no means can we declare this
Sun Powder as a panacea, the kind of medication
that cures completely and finally every type of illness;
However, it resembles (παρομοιάζει) panacea in many
of its aspects.⁵⁰⁶

The arcanum may have contained magnesium sulphate and a silver oxide. In the several pages that follow the entry for *Pulvis Solaris*, the suggested medical uses include head skin diseases, jaundice, arthritic afflictions, types of pock diseases (*pocken*), chest complaints, marasmus, effective relief of lower stomach complaints, melancholy, consumption, kidney pains, the stone, pre and post-natal afflictions, asthma, external sores and infant diseases.

The dynamics of the eighteenth-century medical marketplace typically extended beyond the language of conviction to uncertain product claims for the sake of profit maximization: The star of the Halle operation's medical chests was *Essentia Dulcis* recommended for a number of medical conditions. Despite its success, 'the effects proved difficult to reproduce reliably' but as the product drew enough support its production continued for most of the century.⁵⁰⁷ There are no records of the Orphanage operation's Greek clientele. With self-medication at the centre of its commercial strategy, its intended clients encompassed the educated and financially comfortable among the community. The further editions and long time span between the print dates of the Greek publication suggest that, as with most of its other markets trade with the Greek world did take place and remained active for a good number of years.

⁵⁰⁵ Roy Porter, *Quacks, Fakers & Charlatans in English Medicine* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000), p. 207.

⁵⁰⁶ Adamis, *Σύντομος Έρμηνεία περὶ τῆς Ἐνεργείας καὶ Ὁφελείας...* (A short account of the effects and benefits...), pp. 134-137.

⁵⁰⁷ Wilson, *The Traffic in Halle Orphanage Medications*, pp. 10-11.

In the matter of the impact of academic medicine on the wider Greek society at the turn of the eighteenth century, the real effects appear to be mainly of an intellectual rather than practical therapeutic nature:

- The increasing number and focus of medical publications is indicative of a galvanising process for Greek physicians and the evolution of a more cohesive group identity. Increasingly, Greek academic medicine embraces scholars outside the traditional hotbeds of the Ionian Islands and Chios. In the Greek language of the new book publications and the journal *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* (Hermes the Scholar) that started in 1811 they share new scientific ideas, debate medical issues, and shape professional and ethnic aspirations.

- The opportunities of political office following the Venetian departure and the exposure to the academic and political debates of the European Enlightenment bring about greater politicization of Greek physicians. In the Ionian Islands they have the first taste of high political office whilst those from the mainland join the wider Greek learned community in initiatives for social improvement and national regeneration.

- In the Ionian Islands changes in the operating environment of the medical profession stimulate the 'medicalisation' of Greek society along Western European norms. That included aspects of medical education, medical institutions and the state, and the first of a number of regulatory medical initiatives. Proper implementation of the new measures, however, would not materialise until later into the nineteenth century.

- From a practical point of view, excepting the sporadic benefits of smallpox inoculation, eighteenth-century academic medicine continued with the usual dose of bloodletting followed by cathartics, purgatives, analgesics and antipyretics the uses of which were long-established and, by and large, known to the public.

- As to the spread of academic medicine to a wider section of the Greek community, rigid socio-political structures, the agrarian nature of society, economic disadvantage, and the high number of relatively

isolated communities prevented its wider reach especially in the Ottoman area. Moreover, physicians were very unevenly distributed. As C.S. Sonnini recorded in reference to many Greek island communities in the Aegean 'if we except a few foreigners, who seldom come thither to assume or usurp the title of physicians, there are none in these islands'.⁵⁰⁸

5. 4 The supreme law of community health

On 31st October 1760, the Instructions of Franco Grimani, Governor General of the Sea and supreme commander of the Ionian islands by the authority of the Venetian Senate, left no doubt as to the punishment to be meted out to any subject that violated his directives for the containment of plague in the island of Kefalonia: 'the mouth of the musket... thus demands the Supreme Law of Community Health' (*colla bocca del Moschetto... cosi richiedendo la Supremma Legge della Commune Salute*).⁵⁰⁹ (Illustration 27) The threat to the Venetian-held islands was great as in the years between 1700 and 1821 every Greek community in the neighbouring Ottoman Empire was constantly visited by plague. To what extent were *Provveditore* Grimani's directives based on the foundations of state strategy and backed by organised public measures to defend the islands' community? Were such measures mirrored in the Ottoman-held region and how far did Greek community protection extend to public health initiatives such as hospitals for those living under Venetian or Ottoman rule?

Contagion

Plague epidemics in Europe had continued since the pandemic of 1347-51 and Venice had bitter experience of its impact both on the Serenissima and the neighbouring states. In 1630-31 Venice lost over 30% of its people to the plague, whilst in Genoa 75% of the population perished in

⁵⁰⁸ Sonnini, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 371.

⁵⁰⁹ Wellcome Library, F. Grimani, *Istruzione estesa per commando dell ... Signor Franco Grimani, Provveditor General da Mare, in proposito del Contagio, e methodo usabile per gli espurghi, e disinfezzazioni delle Ville Sarlata, e Lachitres colpite da contagio nell'Isola di Ceffalonia*. (Scribal copy produced in Corfu in 1760, Wellcome Library), pp. 20-21.

1656.⁵¹⁰ The highly developed precautionary measures initiated by Italian health magistrates were emulated by other European states and included *cordons sanitaires*, isolation facilities, control of trade goods, and health passes. As the Ionian Islands provided essential steppingstones in Venice's lucrative trade with the Levant and strategic garrison locations, they benefited from the institutional framework of its protection measures. These involved contagion prevention, containment and eradication.

Grimani's directives demonstrate Venetian state policy to defend itself and its willingness to mobilise and co-ordinate the activities of diverse institutions for that purpose. Appendix 3 shows the full text of Grimani's Instructions, testament to the administration's long experience in contagion containment and state mobilisation process whenever a plague epidemic threatened its territory. Local Departments of Health were invested with the authority to protect each island from contagious disease, the responsibility to coordinate action plans and ensure that health regulations were implemented as directed. The officials were empowered to punish transgressors, impose fines, burn offending vessels or commit the offenders to the authority of Venice.⁵¹¹ They operated from the *Magistrato alla Sanita* which was usually located at the port. It was administered by Senior Health Officials, (*Provveditori alla Sanita*), the Supervising official of the facility (*Priore*) and his secretary (*Cancellier*). At the Department's disposal was a small military unit.

With regard to contagion risk management, immediately upon arrival, the captain of a vessel was obliged to lodge the relevant documents which included certifications of origin and last consular or health authorisation (*constituti, fede*). If there was suspicion of a health hazard, all of the crew, passengers and goods were quarantined. The *Lazaretto* (place of quarantine) provided isolation facilities for humans and goods under quarantine orders. (Illustration 28) The local French Consul Grasset Saint Sauveur witnessed the draconian procedures put into action when a suspected ship arrived in Corfu from Alexandria in the last quarter of the eighteenth century:

⁵¹⁰ Wear, 'Early Modern Europe', p. 221.

⁵¹¹ Lountzis, *Περί της Πολιτικής Καταστάσεως της Ἑπτανήσου ἐπὶ Ἑνετῶν* (On the political situation of Heptanissos under Venice), p. 149.

It was forced to drop anchor in the open outside the port and stay 'out of contact'. After a few days the crew and goods were brought into the *Lazaretto*. The sailors took off their clothes and put on a thick shirt soaked in tar. Twice a day they washed in front of the health inspectors and the chief physician. Four died. Their comrades burned all of their belongings and afterwards threw the bodies in a deep ditch where they covered them with lime. The ship was decontaminated by sinking for twenty days. [After it was pulled out of the water] no one was allowed near it for eight days. As the crew had been decimated, a number of convicts from the galleons filled the gap. It set sail for Venice under the close watch of a frigate.⁵¹²

If an epidemic broke out, emergency regulations were put into effect. As Grimani's Instructions clearly illustrate, these included highly detailed plans incorporating manpower, material resources and systems. They brought together the military, state employees, the medical professions, the Church and the public, and show an appreciation of the importance of clear delineation of responsibilities and the need to ensure that every operation in the chain of activities was properly controlled. Probably as a result of the measures announced by Grimani, in an island population of some 70,000 inhabitants, the epidemic was contained with only 118 persons becoming infected of whom 90 succumbed.⁵¹³

The role of the Orthodox Church in Grimani's contagion measures is worthy of note. Besides the cleric's part in providing for the 'spiritual needs' of those infected, the state requested that the clergy were deployed in civic duties. Firstly, they were to act as reliable witnesses to the accuracy of public records, and secondly to assist local searches and 'call on surviving families to disclose and point out hiding places' under threat of religious curses and excommunication (*fulminando Maledizioni e Scomuniche*).⁵¹⁴ Public pronouncements of this sort accentuated the atmosphere of dread and sense

⁵¹² Quoted in Simopoulos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα*, (Foreign Travellers to Greece), ii, pp. 518-519.

⁵¹³ Moschopoulos, *Ιστορία της Κεφαλονιάς* (History of Kefalonia), p. 180.

⁵¹⁴ WL, Grimani, p. 19; (trans. Appendix 1, p. 5).

of isolation that brought life in the community to a shuddering and unfamiliar experience:

.. no children are allowed outside their homes.. the inhabitants must not be in close proximity to each other... the priests to forbid the gathering of crowds in churches... the barbers, under threat of execution, neither work nor open their shops... all those infected, their families, furniture and house articles to be moved to the hospital, near the quarantine house.⁵¹⁵

Clearly, whilst the plague raged in their island and in common with the other Venetian territories, the inhabitants of Santa Mavra felt the arm of Venetian state law in every aspect of their public and private behaviour. In contrast, for the physician Pietro Choch, Venetian consul in Salonica, it was individual initiative rather than state policy that typified community response to the plague epidemic that afflicted the Ottoman-ruled city late in the century:

24 April 1781 – The plague is raising havoc and especially among the Turkish population and there are no hopes of a decrease... we live always in apprehension and we are shut inside our homes... the Pasha, Mufti and all the Agas have left for the country... the only ones left are the poor most of whom die. The town is deserted. Half of the population has left. Some criminals have stayed behind and there is fear in case they set fire in order to create opportunities to loot...

19th June 1781 – The depressing conditions under which we live as a result of the terrible contagion prevent me from moving... In a city of 80.000 residents... up to now 14.870 are dead... Food is scarce and prices unimaginable. Sometimes bread is missing too and , [when available] it is of nasty quality. In the thirty years that I have been here I witnessed plague many times but nobody recalls a curse such as this ...

Pietro Coch⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁵ Public Announcement in 1743 by Provveditore Moro from the archives of Lefkas (Santa Mavra), quoted in Macheras, *Η Λευκός επί Ένετοκρατίας 1684-1797* (Santa Mavra under Venetian Occupation 1684-1797), pp. 105-107.

The Venetian consul's report is typical of the Ottoman administration's lack of strategy in facing the threat of contagion in the peninsula and the islands. In the consular reports relating to different plague epidemics in Salonica there is no mention of any established state mechanism for their prevention, containment, or eradication. Recalling his personal experience in the region and Ottoman attitudes to the plague around 1794, the scientist G. A. Olivier observed that 'the Turks [are] persuaded that man cannot change the immutable decrees of the Eternal... and when death is striking them on all sides, they display a great tranquillity and an entire resignation'.⁵¹⁷ Such cultural attitudes may well hold true for some of the Sultan's subjects or be a contributing factor for the lack of organised defence against the plague in the province. Nonetheless, according to the Venetian consul's report, the Pasha and other officials felt that, in times of contagion, the countryside offered safer options than the city.

In Grimani's Instructions one detects the stamp of central government with an administrative infrastructure and process underpinned by the Serenissima's political will to defend its commercial interests and citizenry. In contrast, the *waqf* system of private endowments directed the financial burden of Ottoman social policy away from the government and towards private and fragmented local individuals and institutions. Moreover, as B. Chetkova observes, this was a period of change in the Ottoman Empire where local powerful feudal overlords, independent of central authority, undermined the centralised system on which Ottoman power had been based; altogether, conditions not conducive to state-wide health strategy and co-ordination.⁵¹⁸

There were exceptions. As we have seen, the Greek community of the island of Chios enjoyed a large degree of independence under the protection of the Sultan and a vigorous medical tradition emanating from its past Genoese administration and continuing academic connection to Italian institutions. In the eighteenth century the Greek archons appointed two

⁵¹⁶ Mertzios, *Μνημεία Μακεδονικής Ιστορίας* (Records of Macedonian History, p. 427;

⁵¹⁷ G. A. Olivier, *Travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt and Persia* (London: Longman, Rees and others, 1801), p. 157.

⁵¹⁸ B. Chetkova, 'Problems of the Ottoman regime in the Balkans from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century', in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. by T. Naff and R. Owen (London: Feffer & Simmons, 1971), pp. 165-183 (p. 169).

ὑγειονόμοι (*giundici de la sanita* / Hygiene officers) in charge of community health matters and a physician in charge of the island's Lazaretto. According to G. A. Olivier who visited the island, the ὑγειονόμοι had the authority to put into action isolation measures against individuals or villages, control suspect shipping and take whatever measures they considered appropriate in time of contagion. However, their jurisdiction did not apply to Turkish naval forces and Ottoman subjects. This, and the high number of small trading vessels crossing from the mainland, exposed the island to the contagion afflicting the mainland. Plague cases were recorded relatively frequently in Chios and included the epidemic of 1788 'resulting in some 14,000 deaths' and that of 1814-1817 'when much of the island became deserted'.⁵¹⁹

Hospitals

'The simple dues of fellowship and social comfort are learned in a hospital' observed Elizabeth Barrett Browning.⁵²⁰ For the Chioti, the establishment and provision for hospitals were also signs of cultural continuity and philanthropy enabled by a degree of political independence and financial means. The Greek archons followed in the foot steps of a long Byzantine tradition in community health provision, continued with the rule of the Genoese in the sixteenth century and under the gaze of a number of local medics educated in Western Europe. Early in the eighteenth century the traveller Dapper refers to the small hospice next to the church of Panagia Charitomeni 'for the island's poor and the travellers'.⁵²¹ It was in the same spot that the foundations of a hospital architecturally modelled on the famous Florentine hospital of Santa Maria Nuova were laid in 1753.⁵²² According to the commemoration plaque, building expenses were met 'by the contributions of

⁵¹⁹ G.A. Olivier in *Ἡ Χίος παρά τοῖς Γεωγράφοις καί Περιηγηταῖς* (Chios according to geographers and travellers), ii, p. 844; Paidoussis, *Ἡ Ἱατρική στη Χίο κατά τους Τελευταίους Αἰῶνες 1600-1900*, (Medicine in Chios in recent centuries 1600-1900), pp. 71-76.

⁵²⁰ E. Barrett Browning, *Aurora Leigh* (London: Miller, 1864), bk. vi, <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/barrett/aurora/aurora.html#6> [accessed 18 April 2008].

⁵²¹ Paidoussis, *Ἡ Ἱατρική στη Χίο κατά τους Τελευταίους Αἰῶνες 1600-1900*, (Medicine in Chios in recent centuries 1600-1900), p. 34.

⁵²² K. Park and J. Henderson, "'The first hospital among Christians': the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova in early sixteenth-century Florence", *Medical History*, 35 (2), (1991), 164-168.

Christian friends of charity'.⁵²³ The building was capable of accommodating 200 persons including the sick, the old, the mentally afflicted and foundlings, and also used to confine criminals and women of offensive social conduct. The hospital was managed by three unpaid Trustees elected from the resident Greek community. Four lady stewards were employed to oversee the daily operations. They slept in the hospital, supervised food, clothing and medication under the advice of the appointed hospital doctor.

Chiot social policy also extended to the provision for a leper hospital in 1737 capable of accommodating some 150 persons in 30 small dwellings. It was under the management of four Trustees and one cleric who was in charge of its daily operation. The expense was met by donations and fee-paying patients. Each dwelling was provided with a small piece of land where the afflicted could grow some of their food.

Conditions for those in the hospitals are uncertain. Writing to his fellow Chiots from Paris, Adamantios Koraes was set against these establishments for providing shelter to those in need: 'multiplying the lazy and being of little use to the hard-working' or for extending help to those who should be looked after in their own islands and homes.⁵²⁴ Irrespective of Koraes' opinions, eighteenth-century public health initiatives in Chios reveal a medical response in public health unexpected in a Levantine island of only 100,000 subject peoples. It is indicative of Chios' strong civic and medical traditions and its unique relationship with the Sublime Porte that gave the local Greek community unequalled privileges, a degree of political independence, and the financial wherewithal to support community health initiatives; a state of affairs not germane to the peninsula and other Aegean islands.

A brief comparison between the Chiot example and the lengthy and unfruitful efforts of successful Greek merchants to enlarge the small hospice in the city of Ioannina illuminates some of the challenges that influenced the provision of hospitals elsewhere in the region. A. Stavropoulos' study of the

⁵²³ Paidoussis, *Η Ιατρική στη Χίο κατά τους Τελευταίους Αιώνες 1600-1900*, (Medicine in Chios in recent centuries 1600-1900), p. 35.

⁵²⁴ Quoted in Paidoussis, *Η Ιατρική στη Χίο κατά τους Τελευταίους Αιώνες 1600-1900*, (Medicine in Chios in recent centuries 1600-1900), p. 37.

Stavros Ioannou archive illustrates the political and financial issues impinging on the Ioannina hospital project between the years 1793 and 1822.⁵²⁵ In contrast to the Chiot archons and their situation,

- there was no political authority invested in the highly successful Epirus merchants who were prepared to finance the hospital. All political power was exercised by Ali Pasha and his inner circle.
- Benefactors and their funds were not easily accessible. Merchants were dispersed overseas from Livorno to Moscow and Vienna to Constantinople. Making decisions and transferring funds were subject to long delays. Finance was provided from endowments (*Λάσσα* It. *Lascito*: legacy) lodged in various European banks.
- Importantly, Chiot community health provision was characterised by the long and continuous support and leadership of the local lay Greek and medical elite supported by the Greek Church. The benefits of such continuities were not available to the Epirotes.

Similar limitations characterised public health initiatives in most of the peninsula and the islands in the eighteenth century. Unlike the better funded and organised Chiot initiatives, public health measures in the rest of the peninsula were confined to traditional hospices, usually attached to religious establishments and set up to accommodate a small number of afflicted poor folk and the old and to offer shelter to the traveller. These were of the kind of 'Ξενοδοχείον' (Hostel) found in Mitilini, Redestos, Serres, Candia, Ioannina and Salonica.⁵²⁶ Given the general socio-economic situation in the country, prevailing conditions in these hospices were wanting. As in Chios, France, and England at that time, for the relatively affluent amongst the community, it was considered socially unseemly to be treated in such a hospice. In his report relating to a search for a bed for a sailor, the Venetian consul Pietro Coch throws some light in the Salonica hospital situation in 1781:

⁵²⁵ A. K. Stavropoulos, 'Τό Νοσοκομείο τῶν Ἰωαννίνων' (The Hospital of Ioannina), Proceedings of the international Conference in History: Epirus: Society and Economy 15th – 20th century, September 1985 (Ioannina: Dimos Ioanninon, 1987), pp. 27-71.

⁵²⁶ A. K. Stavropoulos, *Τά νοσοκομεία καί ἡ νοσιλευτική πολιτική τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐθνότητος στήν Κωνσταντινούπολη 1453-1838* (The hospitals and treatment policies of the Greek community in Constantinople 1453-1838) (Athens: no pub., 1984), pp. 60-62.

Unfortunately, there are no hospitals here excepting a wretched one, located outside the city, belonging to the Greek community. It is small and just about

sufficient for them... In the end I managed through the [Greek Church] Metropolitan and with a donation to place [the sailor] in their hospital.⁵²⁷

Whilst the consul's impressions may be exacerbated by personal bias or the dire circumstances of the time, Coch was also a physician, resident of Salonica for some thirty years and familiar with the general situation regarding hospitals in that city.

Hospital conditions on the Ionian islands reflect the greater involvement of Venetian civic government and the influence of professional medicine in public health affairs. However, aspirational state and philanthropic health programmes had to endure the ramifications of the political and economic decline of the territory in much of the eighteenth century culminating in the Serenissima's departure in 1797. Government involvement in hospital and other philanthropic institutions on the islands was visible by the late seventeenth century; both in its encouragement of private and religious initiatives and in its active part in the medical affairs of the community. In his regulations for the hospital of Zante in 1677, *Provveditore* A. Corner asked that it should 'please God, honour the ruler, adorn the city...offer suitable nursing to the suffering, shelter to the poor, safe refuge to the stranger'.⁵²⁸ By order of Pietro Bembo, *Provveditore* of Santa Mavra, a hospital was established within the castle walls in 1686. It was improved early in the eighteenth century to accommodate eighty beds and the services of a physician and a surgeon.⁵²⁹ It was funded by public contributions, endowments and government subsidies.

⁵²⁷ Mertzios, *Μνημεία Μακεδονικής Ιστορίας* (Records of Macedonian History, pp. 427-428.

⁵²⁸ Laskaratos, *Πρόληψη της αρρώστιας και κοινωνική προστασία στα Επτάνησα επί Αγγλοκρατίας 1815-1864* (Prevention of disease and social care in the Eptanissa during English rule 1815-1864), p. 28.

⁵²⁹ Macheras, *Ἡ Λευκὰς ἐπὶ Ἑνετοκρατίας 1684-1797* (Santa Mavra under Venetian Occupation 1684-1797), p. 62.

Zante's hospital was established around 1646 to serve the needs of lay people, soldiers and later, in a separate unit, the island's orphans. The hospital was administered by the *Procuratori all' Ospedale* and financed by local bequests and government subsidies. Later in the eighteenth century, however, it was converted into a military camp with the poor and orphans moving to the Supervisor's (*Piora*) home; 'a hospital in name only' according to Mercati.⁵³⁰

At the end of eighteenth century, there were four hospitals in Corfu; two military, one for the public and one for foundlings. The original public hospital was built by the merchant J. Diloti around 1726 following the cessation of hostilities between Turkey and Venice. It was of limited size. Diloti's philanthropic act was emulated by a number of Corfiot citizens including a substantial donation by Franchisco Canal in 1773 for the erection of a new hospital. However, despite the payment of Diloti's donation to the Corfu state pawnbroker (*Santo Monte di Pietà*), money was in short supply; the decline in the fortunes of the Serenissima had permeated the public purse. According to Vlassopoulos, by the early nineteenth century the hospital was 'capable of looking after eighteen people... without reference to their religious affiliation. Those sick enjoyed proper treatment in a spirit of love and order'.⁵³¹ Corfu's foundlings' hospital was established in the seventeenth century with money from the administration. It accommodated between sixty and seventy orphans. It was chronically underprovided and according to Spyridon M. Theotokis, in a 'lamentable state that improved only with the arrival of the French'.⁵³² Despite the worthy principles of French benevolence, the 'claims of nature' in the foundling hospital continued horrendously high. According to the surgeon John Hennen's analysis, 'in the fifty years between 1770 and 1820, of the 1439 foundlings admitted only 351 survived', a mortality rate of 75%.⁵³³ Commenting on the low level of social health measures for the community during the last century of Venetian rule, J. Laskaratos points to the

⁵³⁰ Mercati, *Saggio Storico – Statistico della Città ed Isola di Zante*, (Zante, 1811), pp. 54-56.

⁵³¹ Vlassopoulos, *Στατιστικά Ιστορικά περί Κερκύρας Ειδήσεις* (Statistics – Historical Information on Kerkyra), p. 115.

⁵³² S. Theotokis, *Commemorative Bulletin of the Panionian Retrospective Exhibition*, (Corfu: n. pub., 1914), p. 100.

⁵³³ Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, p. 199.

administration's incapability to codify its legal directives for the islands.⁵³⁴ Yet, as Grimani's effective measures show, the Serenissima was capable of codifying anti-contagion regulations to protect its strategic territorial possessions and routes to the Lagoon. In the century of its decline, Venetian community health issues were delegated to the local Councils of the Nobles and it is worthy of note that, by the early nineteenth century, Kefalonia had lost more of its people to emigration by reason of poverty rather than contagion.⁵³⁵ In 1815 responsibility for 'The Supreme Law of Community Health' in the islands passed to the British.

5.5 Conclusions

'The increase of books is due to the increase in (the level) of learning... There are now among the Greeks some who think and act in such a way as to raise the noblest aspirations' observed Adamantios Korais.⁵³⁶ In the view of the foremost personality of the Greek Enlightenment, books were the measure of society's advancement and the foundations of the virtuous state he envisaged for the Greek community. The increase and focus of medical publications in the Greek language after 1780 were signs of the impact of European education and the debates of the Enlightenment on Greek scholars. It stimulated their motivation to affect change in Greek society and play a part in the re-formation of a Greek intellectual identity.

Those of Ionian Island descent, influenced by their cultural affiliation, Venetian heritage and relatively high place on the rung of the local political ladder, saw the future, initially at least, differently to those with mainland - Ottoman - attachments. Irrespective of origin however, what many among the Greek medical intelligentsia held in common was their willingness to assume a political role. Political involvement manifested itself by participation in the government of the nascent Septinsular Republic and in the initiatives for the

⁵³⁴ I. Laskaratos, *Πρόληψη της αρρώστιας και κοινωνική προστασία στα Επτάνησα επί Αγγλοκρατίας 1815-1864 (Prevention of disease and social care in the Eptanisa during English rule 1815-1864)*, p. 35.

⁵³⁵ Compared with the population of ca 70000 in the second half of the century, 1820 estimates show 53236 inhabitants: in Hennen, *Sketches on the Medical Topography of the Mediterranean*, pp. 270.

⁵³⁶ Adamantios Korais, 'Υπόμνημα περὶ τῆς παρούσης καταστάσεως τοῦ πολιτισμοῦ ἐν Ἑλλάδι' (Memorandum on the present condition of civilisation in Greece) in Therianos, iii, pp. μζ'-πβ' (p. οζ'), '...ἐπαύξησιν τῶν φώτων' literally 'increase of light / enlightenment'.

establishment of a public medical system along European lines. Given the vacuum left by Venice and their previous political and social position, the distance to be travelled was a short but, as it proved, difficult path. In the political and economic upheaval experienced in the Islands of the time, educational and public health programmes faced a number of obstacles.

Outside the learned circles of the Ionian Islands, the early efforts of Greek physicians to influence the medical affairs of the Greek community were, on the whole, based on personal preference and opportunity rather than a co-ordinated initiative. As a result, Ioannou's public '*Refutation*' of the practices relating to the Galata Greek hospital in Constantinople and Adamis' translation of Madai's entrepreneurial pharmaceutical pursuits, shared intellectual space with Michael's translation of Tissot's *De la santé de gens de lettres*. A more collectivist approach took root early in the nineteenth century. It was assisted by the publication of the bimonthly newsletter *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* (Hermes the Scholar) in 1811, and the opportunity to present medical subjects for discussion by the wider Greek scientific community.

For physicians with origins in the Ottoman-ruled territory, direct involvement in the government of the peninsula and Aegean islands was a much more difficult option. High political office was open but to a small group of Greek families from the Fanari district of Constantinople. They occupied chief interpreter or foreign ministry positions in the Ottoman court and in a climate of intense rivalry and intrigue, some of them became governors of Danubian principalities as *hospodars* (princes) personally appointed by the Sultan. Thus, for academic physicians from the peninsula, political engagement was relatively limited. It took the form of the provision of practical medical education for the community, the propagation of scientific knowledge for the betterment of Greek society, and the nurture of Greek consciousness with greater aspirations for the community's future. The impact of these initiatives on Greek society would come to fruition later with the establishment of the new state. Nevertheless, this kind of political involvement by the medical profession is on the whole untypical of public health projects in other parts of contemporary Europe. As exemplified by the Montpellier graduate Korais, Greek academic physicians were engaged in aspects of a political

movement that span from the purely medical to educational and issues of nationhood.

Significantly, the orientation of Greek medical scholarship had been consistently 'westwards'. Despite physical proximity, it seems that aspiring Greek physicians living in the Ottoman-ruled world were not motivated by Islamic medical education. Perhaps socio-political and religious diversities did not provide fertile ground for Greek Orthodox students. Whatever the reasons, it is clear that Greek medical scholarship identified itself with Western European intellectual interests, and scientific debates.⁵³⁷ European influence on Greek physicians extended to increasing intolerance of irregular medicine fuelled partly by medical texts, the ideological subtext of Enlightenment debates for 'reason', and the rejection of 'superstition' and magico-religious healing practice. Nevertheless, diffusion of their message among the community would take a long time. In the absence of 'a good local doctor and a pharmacy' or a sustainable public health programme, Greek irregular medicine continued to play a large part in the community's health affairs.

Finally, in the parallel experiences of the Greek medical world, Venetian and Ottoman, we observe medicine as a political construct; the product of the ruler's will that defines the human and material resources and the regulatory framework that affects the health lives of the community. For the Ionian Islands, the association between the University of Padua, academic medicine, and a maritime-dependant Venice brought special political authority and significance to Greek physicians. In contrast, in the Ottoman peninsula, the lack of political patronage towards the medical professions and deficiency in state health structure engendered a medical system based on informality and opportunity rather than government-led organization and management.

⁵³⁷ For an assessment of Greek intellectual development and Europe during the Enlightenment period see Yiannis Karas, *Ἡ Ἑλληνική σκέψη καί ὁ ἐνιαῖος Εὐρωπαϊκός χώρος* (Greek thought and Europe) (Athens: Daedalos, 2003).

6. Interconnections

So as we, with God's will, wish to bring to an end this iatrosophon let us say a few things for those who will read it in the future. We have written it according to our ability and what we found written in other iatrosophia. We counsel every man to find benefit and therapy through its use and whenever the need arises. And if one was to say 'if God wills me to be cured, then I can be cured without your medicines', I say yes, God wills for the woman in childbed to live after the birth, but wants the midwife to look after her... the old masters and first physicians were assiduous in learning medicine the knowledge of] which they bequeathed to us in writing. This is why I say to you that every one should attend his health in order to live and praise God.⁵³⁸

The anonymous author's words, written around 1750 at the Christian Holy Mountain of Athos upon the completion of a manuscript on popular healing remedies, bear witness to the interconnectedness of the three healing strands surveyed thus far; the religious, the traditional, and the academic.

In our investigation of the place and relationships between these three therapeutic systems and beliefs, what distinguishes medicine in the Greek world of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century is the central place of religious faith and the dominant ideology of Orthodox Christianity in the affairs of regular and irregular healers and their patients. Even Korais, fiercest critic of the Orthodox clergy, commended Christian religion as a witness to his call for virtuous citizenship and care in the community: 'Virtue is love and care of the common good; whoever is not convinced by this philosophical tenet, let them be convinced by religion... where all precepts and prophets hang upon the love for one's neighbour'.⁵³⁹ In his turn, by acknowledging the 'old masters' in the pages of a popular healing manual, the anonymous religious

⁵³⁸ MIET, Protonotarios; 'Study of Microfilmed Medical Manuscript'. My thanks to Dr Tselikas for generously allowing me to cite from his unpublished paper on Greek iatrosophia delivered at the Wellcome Centre for the History of Medicine at UCL, May 2007.

⁵³⁹ Adamantios Korais, 'Πολιτικά παραινήσεις προς τοὺς Ἕλληνας' (Political exhortations to the Greeks), in Therianos, iii, pp. ρα'-ρλη' (p. ρκ').

author of Mount Athos positioned Galenic 'rational' medicine and traditional healing practice as instruments of God's providence for the benefit of mankind. His commentary mirrors the views of most of his contemporaries who saw the various therapeutic beliefs as an integrated process concerned with human health; a feature that underlines the intellectual and practical links between the three therapeutic systems and beliefs.

6.1 Intellectual interconnections

From a philosophical point of view, it is difficult to demarcate religious, academic and traditional - often supernatural - medicine, the latter as practiced by popular healers among the Greek community. They all offered avenues to confront the exigencies of human existence and converged when people sought them out with a single, practical end in mind: the relief from pain or threat from disease.

Religious and scientific medical beliefs were intellectually interlinked because they provided rival explanations of the cosmos and its impact on human health. Whilst academic medicine adopted a natural explanation for disease, in the narrative of the 1779 encyclical of Protopriest Aloysius Kapadokas on smallpox inoculation, we witness the prelate's approach linking it with moral behaviour, whilst Landos sees illness as a gift from God for the benefits it accrues for the human soul.

Ascribing intellectual features to a popular belief illustrates the common ground between religious, traditional and academic healing. The concept is best illustrated in the cases of the popular inoculation method of 'engrafting' for smallpox observed in the East and *βασκανία*, the idea of causing personal harm through human envy. In the case of the former, as we have seen, contemporary accounts of 'engrafting' performed by some Peloponnesian mothers and women from Thessaly have been given, among others, by the physicians Pouqueville and Pylarinos. The subject was elevated in the highest European scientific circles and subjected to intense intellectual scrutiny. In common with his predecessor E. Timonis, I. Pylarinos confirmed its connection with traditional healers and attempted to offer a 'rational' medical explanation for the apparent success of the 'engrafting' method:

[the engrafting method] has not been discovered by natural scientists or by practitioners of the Art of Apollo, but has been made known for the help of humanity and the relief of this most cruel disease by ordinary, uneducated people; it remained unknown to ancient scholarly learning and to the careful researches of modern times, but has come to us from the storehouse of the society of simple, illiterate people. ... as the [pus or fermenting agent] passes on the poison it conceals within, it arouses the fermenting action of the seeds, steers them, activates them and drives them into motion... and the force causes the impure parts to separate and at the crucial moment thrust themselves outwards towards the skin.⁵⁴⁰

Neither I. Pylarinos nor other European physicians were correct in their academic rationalisation of the causes and cures for smallpox. Such discoveries would have to wait until the new dawn for the medical sciences in the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, smallpox inoculation by the 'engrafting' method was to continue throughout the eighteenth century with neither the academic nor traditional 'engrafters' understanding its underlying principles.

In the case of the malign influence or evil eye, there was no question that Orthodox Church theology would allow the popular demonic notions of its congregation to continue unabated without taking a doctrinal position on the subject. The ancient popular belief was very much part of pagan – later Christian – everyday life among the Greek community and any preternatural matters fell exclusively within the Church's intellectual arena. Moreover, in Church terms, disease was one aspect of the multifaceted relationship between God and humanity. The Church's official voice positioned human *φθόρος* (envy) as an enabler of demonic impact on human health. In addition, by its explanation, the Church validated the popular belief and, in defence of its congregation, prescribed the special Christian ritual to aid those afflicted. With the 'demonic' occupying a central place in Christian dogma and in disease causation, it was likely that both religious and traditional

⁵⁴⁰ Jacobum Pylarinum, 'Nova & tuta Variolas excitandi per Transplantationem Methodus, nuper inventa & in usum tracta', *Philosophical Transactions*, 29 (1714-1716), 393-399 (pp. 393, 395-396).

(supernatural) healing would share intellectual and therapeutic space. The position of the medical and other learned communities in this matter is worthy of some further remarks.

Korais in his November 1816 letter to N. Vamvas informs him that in the exhortatory letter to medical students which he included in the introduction to his works on Hippocrates he hoped 'to contribute in the reduction of the number of "charm-healers" who, like a plague, decimate the community of Greece'.⁵⁴¹ He was one of many physicians to attack traditional healer practices associated with spells and the supernatural. Yet, as we have seen, these practices persisted throughout the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century. Baron E. Theotokis, graduate of philosophy and *littérateur*, was one among the learned classes of Corfu to show a positive predisposition towards apotropaic spells and 'dialisson' blue stones worn for personal protection.⁵⁴²

In contrast, criticism of Orthodox Church rituals by lay intellectuals against the 'evil eye' was extremely rare. Indeed, among the wider Orthodox Greek community, it was possible to accept natural as well as supernatural causes of disease as long as one did not appear to attack long-held Church and congregation beliefs. This tendency also demonstrates the vigorous resistance of a highly spiritualised society to engage in enquiries contradicting deeply-held notions on the causes of disease. The pluralistic character of Greek therapeutics had evolved over centuries and it would take much more than the first heralds of the Enlightenment could muster to alter deeply embedded community beliefs.

Despite the different ideologies, the co-existence of religious and academic medicine is also found in the number of iatrosophic texts of the period where Christian Orthodox writers attempted to synthesize Old and New Testament stories and patristic theology with academic medical theory. Notwithstanding their links with ancient pagan authors including Hippocrates and Galen, in most of the manuscripts we detect the insertion and synthesis of

⁵⁴¹ Quoted in Karaberopoulos, *Η Ιατρική Ευρωπαϊκή Γνώση στον Ελληνικό Χώρο 1745-1821* (European Medical Knowledge in the Greek World 1745-1821), p. 27.

⁵⁴² E. Theotokis, *Détails sur Corfou*, p. 119.

Orthodox Christian philosophy into what, after all, were accounts of pre-Christian therapeutics.

The relative frequency of such doctrinal connections points to the clerical inclination to integrate Galenic theory into Orthodox credo. For many centuries, aspects of Hippocratic and Galenic philosophy guided regular medical practice in Byzantium. For the religious writers of the iatrosophic texts, Orthodox Christianity was an all-encompassing faith guiding every aspect of life. With healing as a central tenet of Christian religion and the physical wellbeing of the congregation of primary concern to its clergy, the authors hoped to combine classical pagan principles within the religious gamut of Orthodox theology. However, their anonymous quasi-doctrinal efforts appear individualistic, lacking in subject depth, and articulated in a demotic style that suggests the authors' intended readers were the ordinary public rather than the intellectual Orthodox elite.

Iatrosophic texts display further intellectual features, this time between Orthodox and popular practices involving meteorological and astrological predictions of personal or community misfortune. Since the late seventh century CE, the position of the official Orthodox Church canon was set unambiguously against those engaging with prophecies whether as clerics or lay members of the Orthodox congregation. Canon 61 of the 6th Ecumenical Synod and its later authorised interpretations are clear in forbidding the practices of '...Βροντολόγια, καί ἀστραπολόγια, καί ἡμερολόγια, καί ἀπλῶς ὅλα τὰ μαγικά καί περίεργα βιβλία πρέπει νά διαφθείρονται...' (...predictions of events relating to the occurrence of thunder, lightening, and almanacs and simply all the magical and strange books must be destroyed).⁵⁴³ Nevertheless, in the eighteenth-century iatrosophion of the Orthodox Monastery of Taxiarchon such practices were recorded, recommended to the reader, and featured in a work that is evidently predisposed towards the Orthodox faith.⁵⁴⁴ The text has not been written as a mere record or for the exclusive use of religious authorities, but as an instruction manual appealing to all readers, lay or cleric. It is one of many and illustrates the occasionally uncomfortable relationship between official Church doctrine and the scholarly Orthodox elite.

⁵⁴³ *Πηδάλιον* (Rudder), pp. 272-273.

⁵⁴⁴ MAE, MS 492, fols. 21 - 28.

Despite Church prohibition, in the eighth century CE, the Byzantine court employed an astrologer, and later Byzantine scholars practised astrology comparing their own with Ptolemaic and Arabic methods; emperor Manuel I Comnenos was among the practitioners.⁵⁴⁵ However, in the view of the Church, capacity to know the future lay in the domain of the Divine and any related matters are the exclusive concern of theology.

The extent to which such Βροντολογία and similar predictive methods were followed by the wider community in the eighteenth century is uncertain. In general, iatrosophic manuscripts were in the possession of ecclesiastic establishments and the learned few among the lay community with the financial capacity and interest to own and consult such works. Given the generally precarious community existence, it was natural for some people to enquire about the future in search of security or psychological comfort. Nevertheless, the requirement to understand, calculate and interpret planetary movement had lifted astrology to a level well above the capacities of ordinary folk, associating it with distinguished individuals engaged in systematic research. Hence, the apparent laxity of the Orthodox Church in pursuing the Synod's recommendations, a general forbearance towards its scholarly clergy and congregation, a reluctance to apply the full force of Canon law, and most importantly a policy of patient and lenient attitude towards the congregation as long as the Church's sovereign position as the primary pastoral agency of the Orthodox flock was not threatened.

In its long relationship with the Orthodox community, the Church stood for more than faith and had never lost touch with its congregation. The practice of choosing the village priest from among the locals meant that the visible relationship between the Church and the flock would always be a close one. Most local clerics differed from their people only in having received a basic religious education to perform the liturgies. Under such a policy, there was always a danger that some religious healing ceremonies in the village would extend beyond the boundaries of Church doctrine and incorporate supernatural practices mixed up with superstitions inherited from old pagan days. However, the supervision of the local clergy by higher church authorities

⁵⁴⁵ Judith Herrin, *Byzantium, the Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), pp. 123, 229.

was sufficiently robust to protect the Orthodox faith and at the same time suitably adaptable to accommodate practices absorbed into the daily lives of its parishioners across the centuries.⁵⁴⁶

But what of the relationship of traditional healing with Orthodox religious doctrine when both religious and traditional healers brought into play the supernatural? Firstly, it is a common aspect of both healing systems to seek to engage with supernatural forces and, significantly, often of the same kind and identity. In the majority of cases the three key components of a supernatural healing act, the clergy, traditional healers and their patients, shared in their belief in the power of Christ and his Saints, the power of demons and the power of invocation and prayer rituals. Thus, while the two healing systems functioned in parallel, they both relied upon the same supernatural systems and similar rituals to aid those in need of a cure.

Secondly, the evidence suggests that, frequently, those engaged in traditional healing involving the supernatural did not feel they acted outside the accepted boundaries of Orthodox faith. According to S. Runciman, 'the imprecision of doctrine together with the use of Economy, that is the Church's "handling" of various pastoral and disciplinary questions, problems, and issues, gives the Orthodox believer an elasticity in his belief that one may find hard to understand and suspects of lacking integrity'.⁵⁴⁷ Thus, for many commonplace therapies calling for the supernatural, traditional healers and their patients invoked Christian forces, (Saints, the Holy Trinity, Church objects), in rituals that under examination, would be deemed to fall squarely outside Church regulations. However, the Greek community was also characterized by a deep spirituality and attachment to the Orthodox Church. As the observations of Baron Theotokis made clear, ordinary Greek folk did not feel that in their use of such rituals 'they go against God's Will which the beings they invoke obey' (See pages 184-185). In the eyes of eighteenth-century Greek Orthodox protagonists, healers or

⁵⁴⁶ D. Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984), p.156; Guys, *A Sentimental Journey through Greece in a series of letters written from Constantinople*, i, p. 166.

⁵⁴⁷ Runciman, *The Orthodox Churches and the Secular State*, p. 18.

patients, such therapeutic rituals were part of an unofficial yet Christian tradition.

Intellectual pluralism was emphasised further by the frequent interdependence of one belief system and another. Christian amulets and exorcisms were clear demonstrations of the Church's acceptance of supernatural forces outside its control and, in addition, served as sources of income.

Occasionally, as we have seen, aspects of competing systems of belief were practised by its opponents, as in the case of the *Κάρφωμα* (nailing) of the plague in Zante when, with the approval of the highest local Church authority, the magical act of piercing an object with a nail was accompanied by invocations to supernatural forces to free the island from contagion, an event that subsequently led to the building of a Christian Church. In contrast, quite the reverse happened when, in rivalry, ideas and systems antagonised each other in explaining the workings of nature. Sergios Makraios (1734-1819), professor of science at the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople, in his ΤΡΟΤΙΑΙΟΝ Ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλαδικῆς πανοπλίας κατὰ τῶν ὁπαδῶν τοῦ Κοπερνίκου ἐν τρισὶ διαλόγοις (Trophy, from the Greek panoply against the supporters of Copernicus in three dialogues) attacked scientist supporters of Copernican theory in particularly dismissive terms.⁵⁴⁸ On the other hand, Orthodox Church healing practices mirrored some of those witnessed in European Catholic communities. Shared beliefs included Church interpretation of disease as a God-sent test or warning, exorcism, cultural models advocating fasting, and the belief in relics and Saints as recognised sources of personal protection and healing.

Sergios Makraios' ΤΡΟΤΙΑΙΟΝ helps to illustrate another dimension of Greek academic medicine that is its intellectual connection with the European scientific movement experienced at first hand in the centres of learning on the Continent. For many medical scholars the intellectual influence of the European Enlightenment led to a spiritual awakening bringing into focus aspects of Hellenic tradition gained outside the confines of the Ottoman

⁵⁴⁸ < <http://www.lib.uoa.gr/hellinomnimon/main.htm> > [accessed 14 May 2008].

political and religious milieu. Moreover, from a politically static home experience, the lively European intellectual scene brought a coming-of-age bridging not only new ideas, but the possibility of progress, community politics, and society. Political as much as medical ideas had fallen on especially receptive minds.

6.2 Practical interconnections

A number of Greek scholars were inspired to put into practice the new Western European precepts in the society they had left in the East. As the study shows, Beccaria's call for the printed word as the single most effective vehicle to spread new knowledge was heeded among others, by S. Vlantis, G. Ventotis, and the subscribers and contributors of the journal *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* (Hermes the Scholar). Their motives were both socio-political and practical embracing calls for self improvement and public education and a choice of medical works in a language that could be read by the wider community for the improvement of their health. Their effort was directed towards all ethnic Greeks irrespective of social status:

-It is desirable that the books... [should be written]
in such a method and with such clarity in order to become
useful to every class of person.
-... I found this book suitable for a small contribution to the
enlightenment of the γένος [race] and translated it as I could
so that it may be introduced and taught in our schools...⁵⁴⁹

Despite their hopes, however, conditions for the effective dissemination of their medical ideas to the wider community were highly inauspicious. S. Theotokis for the Ionian Islands and G.P. Henderson for the Ottoman area have shown that the movement for a serious secular education of the Greek community was not sufficiently established by the time of the arrival of the

⁵⁴⁹ Vlantis, "Υγιεινατάριον (Health manual), p. θ'; *Φυσική Δημώδης εἰς Παύσιν τῆς Δεισιδαιμονίας*, (Popular Physics for the Discontinuance of Superstition). 13. '... τοῦ Γένους φωτισμόν' literally 'enlightenment of the race'.

British or the War of Independence.⁵⁵⁰ Vlantis, Ventotis and many of the other medical educators were based in the Continent and there was no 'body' or infrastuture to take their work to the community. Many of the initiatives concerning public health would come to fruition later in the nineteenth century.

This raises a most important aspect of the relationship of academic medicine with Greek society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the increasing and multi-faceted involvement of Greek academic physicians in the political life of the community. Their publications of medical books for the improvement of community health, educational books in the Greek language and direct political involvement are unlike most other groups of medical professionals in contemporary Europe. In the political arena of the Ionian Islands, academic physicians obtained key government positions in the newly-formed Septinsular Republic. As a consequence, new aspects of medical philosophy found expression in government policy, although, given the circumstances, the new measures were moderately successful.

In a comparable way, the role of the Orthodox Church had long been extended beyond the pastoral to the political, both in the Ionian Islands and the Ottoman-ruled region. As the investigation has shown, Orthodox prelates sat in court with the Serenissima's blessing, whilst, with the authority of the Sultan, the Orthodox Patriarch through his bishops exercised lay administration, organised law-courts, pursued fiscal matters and participated in medical and other secular affairs concerning the Greek Orthodox community. For most of the congregation, the boundaries between the spiritual and secular role of the Church became indistinguishable. Propped up by political authority, the Church protected and propagated its doctrinal and civic position as a healer of body and soul and continued with its therapeutic rituals.

Other times, the academic medical profession and the Orthodox Church were jointly involved in the shaping of the socio-political and cultural landscape of Greek society. Collaboration in judicial matters relating to divorce, use of excommunication as a weapon against the spread of

⁵⁵⁰ S. Theotokis, "Ἡ Ἑκπαίδευσις ἐν Ἑπτανήσῳ 1453-1864" (Education in the Heptanissos 1453-1864), 1-184 (pp. 35-86); Henderson, *The Revival of Greek Thought, 1620-1830*, 199-207.

contagion, and reference to local clerics for inoculation measures are just a few examples of the special relationship between the Orthodox Church and the medical profession. Moreover, both institutions shared one of the motivating factors that underpinned their healing philosophies: self interest in promulgating and protecting one's institutional values. The slow endorsement and adoption of 'engrafting' for smallpox by both the medical profession and the Church, offers a good example of a cure resisted by a combination of caution, prejudice, and conflict with the prevailing dogma.

The three belief systems were naturally linked as they offered different solutions to the same problem: cure from illness. Depending on the situation they competed for status, political and financial rewards, and reasons of professional rivalry. For example, in the Ionian Islands, the laws of 1692, 1760, 1763, and 1768 forbade the sale of medicines by non-pharmacists and persecuted empirics with 'heavy fines, half of which was given to the informer'.⁵⁵¹ In addition, the medical regulations introduced in Corfu in 1810, requested that the midwives who wished to practice in future were required to submit a 'proof of good morals' to the medical college (*Collegio Medico*), the kind of testimony that would normally be provided by the local cleric or a citizen of a higher social order.

Often, the practical associations between different healing systems were underscored by their common features and practices. Both the Orthodox cleric Fourlanos in Santa Mavra and the various clerical scribes and authors of iatrosophic texts documented, promoted, and in Fournanos' case also practised, traditional medicine. In the iatrosophic manuscripts which were substantially written by clerics, one witnesses the scholarly link of the church with healing, whether regular Galenic, traditional or religious.

In the case of rituals, the traditional healer's ritualistic performance identified him/her with the kind of formal church ceremonies that were deeply ingrained into the psyche of almost every Greek Orthodox member of the community. A ritual's subliminal code speaks to the patient in a number of recognisable ways: the invocation of mystical powers, prayer, the symbolic act

⁵⁵¹ Emmanouil, 'Η Φαρμακευτική εις τήν Ζάκυνθον καί τήν Ἑπτάνησον ἐπὶ Ἑνετοκρατίας καί Ἀγγλικῆς προστασίας' (Pharmaceutics in Zante and the Ionian Islands during the Venetian Rule and British Protectorate), p. 8.

of exorcism, and use of materials such as candles and oil. By association, the ritual invests the performer and his/her act with authority. Their actions are not those of an ordinary member of the village community but one gifted by God to help their fellow humans in their hour of need. For the patient, magico-religious narrative and the performance of the healer suggest the possession of a deep and mystical insight and the almost charismatic ability to recognise the signs of evil and to bring release in God's name. In that context, language, whether verbal or symbolic, lay or clerical, becomes a tool of authority common to all kinds of therapeutic practice.

In a European context, the emerging doctrines held by Greek physicians concerning corporate identity and self-regulation reflected trends of their co-professionals in the West. Formal training and academic achievement conferred privilege, prestige, access to potentially lucrative appointments, and cultural authority on either side of the Ionian sea. In the Ionian Islands the regulations affecting pharmacists reflected those of Venice and that ruling power's healthcare organisation at home influenced the policies in its dominions. Later on, the creation of the lower level of health officers (*Ufficiale di Salute*) in Corfu by the French in 1810 imitated the *officiers de santé* promoted in the 1790s by Fourcroy.⁵⁵² In most of 'enlightened' Europe, medicine had been endeavouring to turn itself into a science and was steadily politicised in the name of social care and progress. Honourable expressions of such trends by medical scientific circles were also witnessed in the Ionian Islands, especially following the departure of the Serenissima in 1797.

In traditional healing, the Greek world displayed certain similarities with Venice and England. In Venice, the Inquisition had been discouraged and in the Serenissima's territory of the Ionian Islands there are no records of any public sentence against a witch, a situation that is mirrored in the whole of the Greek world. As Ruth Martin suggested, 'the diabolic aspect of witchcraft did not feature prominently' in Venice.⁵⁵³ In Greek society demonic activity was limited to *βασκανία* that is malign influence through human envy or *μαγγανεία*, malign influence used mainly to affect the relationship between the sexes.

⁵⁵² L. Brockliss and C. Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 819-820.

⁵⁵³ R. Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), p. 240.

In England, unofficial witch-hunts had continued despite the increasing scepticism of the courts and the Witchcraft Act of 1736.⁵⁵⁴ Yet, as with Greece, the country abounded with supernatural beliefs and cunning folk who engaged in religious healing prayers and quasi-religious verses and charms.⁵⁵⁵ Thomas, Bentley and others have pointed to the scientific, philosophical, and medical advances of seventeenth and eighteenth century as the causes for the decline of magical beliefs.⁵⁵⁶ Until early in the nineteenth century, the impact of the new science and European Enlightenment on the majority of Greek people had been marginal. With a strong sense of community forged by a dominant religion, common language, long tradition, and harsh government, Greek society had been relatively unburdened by religious wars or intellectual confrontation concerning medicine. In the context of a study of therapeutics much of the traditional beliefs and practices remained unaltered. In reference to nineteenth century religion, Jacob Burckhardt said that it was 'rationalism for the few and magic for the many'.⁵⁵⁷ On the eve of the Greek revival, we detect that, on the whole, the same may be said of the healing arts in Greek society.

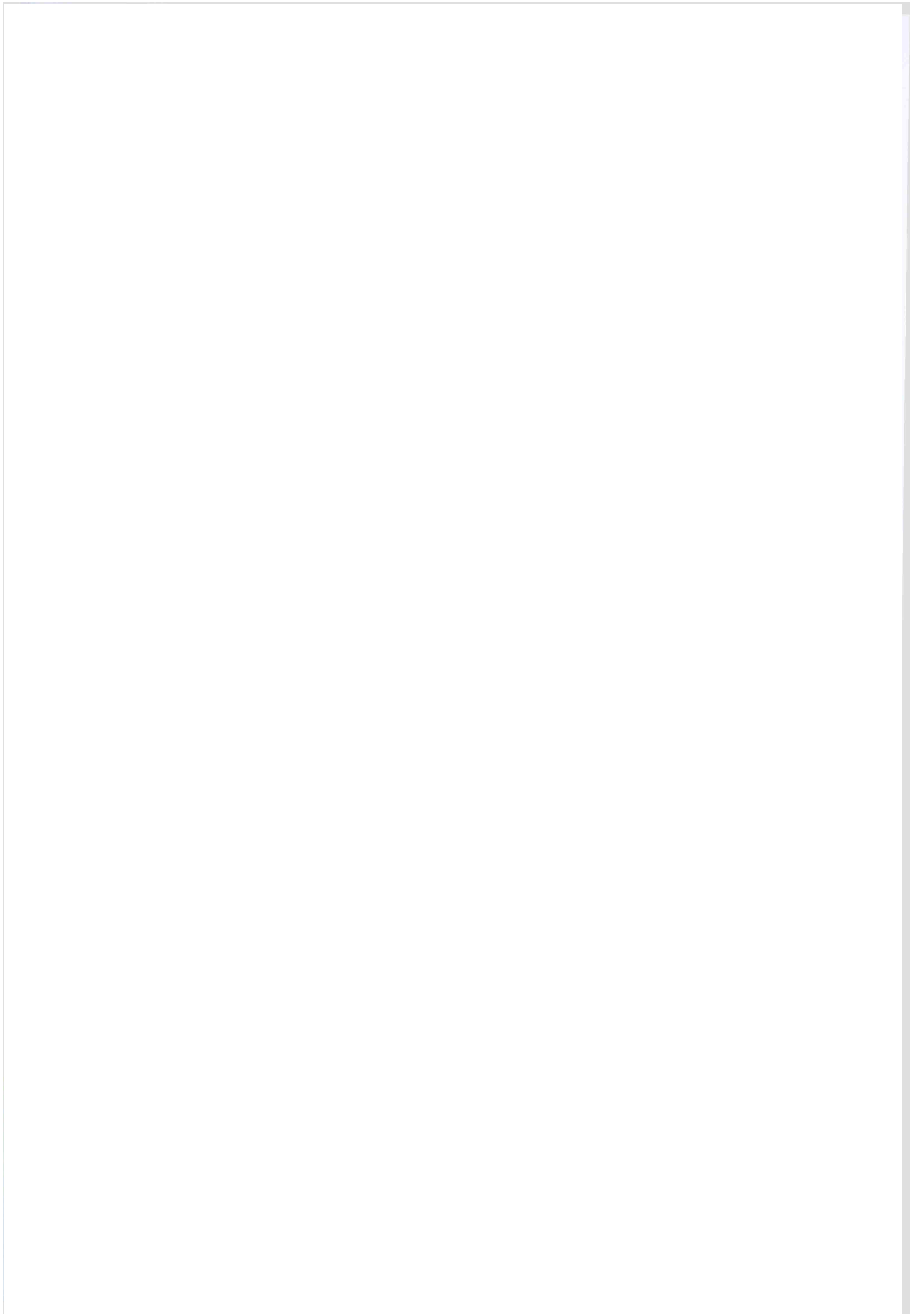
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⁵⁵⁵ Thomas, *Religion and the decline of Magic*, pp. 209-251.

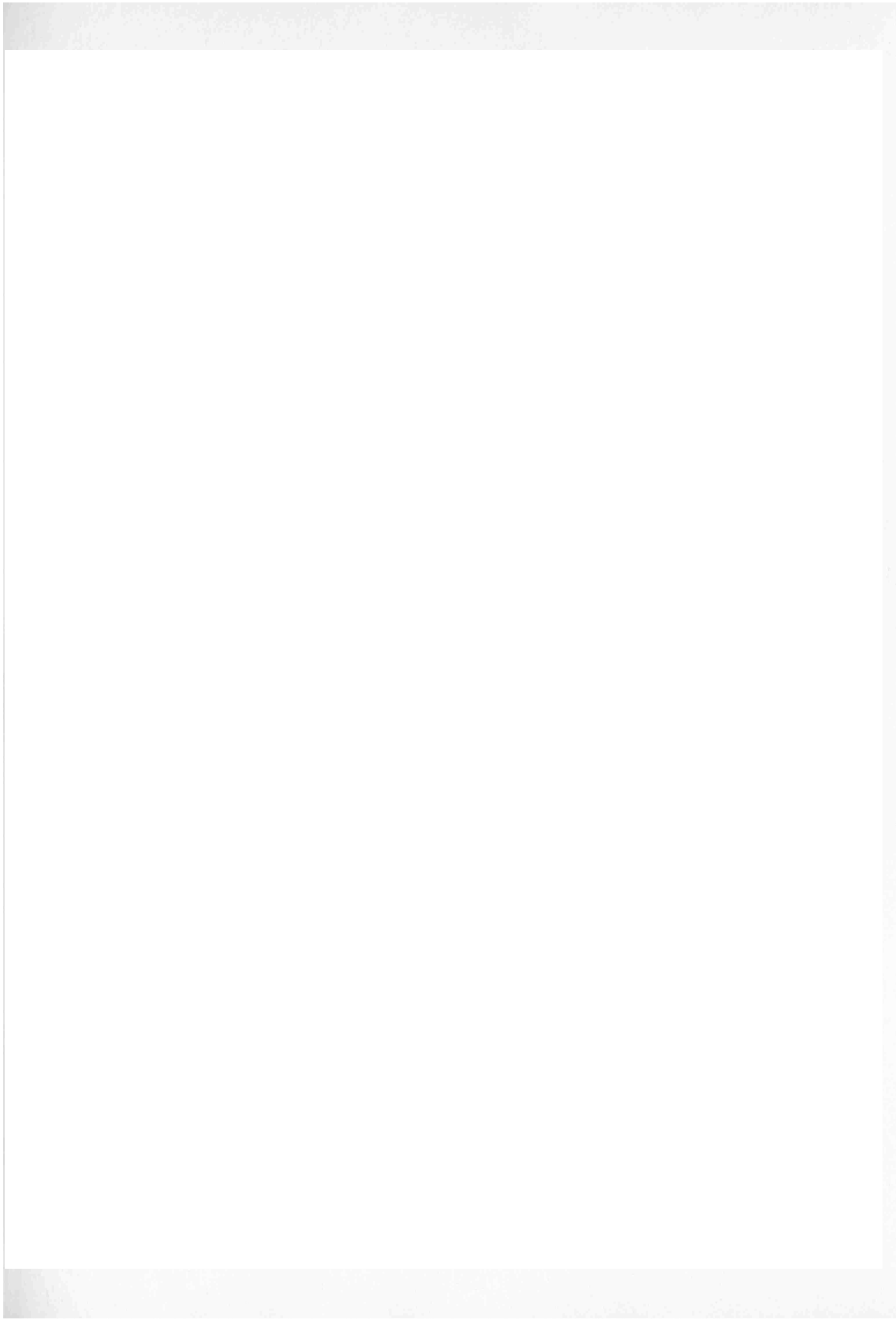
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